

HISTORY AND ITS PLACE IN
EDUCATION

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY.

THE SCHOOL: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF EDUCATION.

PRINCIPLES OF CLASS TEACHING.

THE CHILDREN OF ENGLAND:
A CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL
HISTORY AND TO EDUCATION.

HISTORY AND ITS PLACE IN EDUCATION

• WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
• ENGLISH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

BY

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PREFACE

IF experience measured in time qualify a man to write on any theme, I may plead that I have taken a keen interest in history for half a century: and it is just forty years this summer since I took a degree in history and at once began to coach one or two men on the road to the same goal. Finally, I have tried my hand at writing history; this last experience has compelled me to thrash out again the central issue, the psychological problem, which everyone, teacher or writer, concerned with history has to face: What are we after when we deal with this study; how does it affect us, our neighbours, our pupils? Taking this as the unifying theme, I have sought to present a consecutive argument on the pedagogics of history. The chapters are compressed, since an elaborate book would be beyond the teacher's purse in these difficult times. If I have succeeded in sketching a method of thought

that is enough: the reader can fill in the outline from his own resources.

The pages have had the benefit of revision in proof from Mr. W. H. B. Leech, Head Master of the Penrith Grammar School, and of Miss M. E. Isherwood, of the Froebel Institute. I had designed at first to attach a bibliography, but I doubt if it is worth while. Teachers who can give time for wider reading on what one calls Special Method in History can nowadays get help from the Historical Association or from the many libraries and institutions. Hence the books to which I have referred should not be taken in any sense as covering the ground of relevant material, for they comprise only a few of the writings that have helped me. The references are made just to illustrate the argument, and they may at the same time serve the reader as a starting-point for further investigation.

Many of these helpful books are the work of psychologists, not of professed psychologists in most cases but of people who have looked at history and history teaching from the standpoint of mental capacity and development. One cannot, indeed, make progress in what are called practical class-room

devices apart from some wider philosophy.

This slight contribution to the teachers' library of *Special Method* is, in fact, a plea for basing the work of the specialist on a broad and deep foundation. If I may venture on a word of advice to the younger generation of teachers, I would urge them to carry forward the type of inquiry to which I have referred on page 56. The historians in school and university are zealous to spread the influence of their subject, and I trust these chapters will be accepted as a support to their efforts. I think, however, that they have reached the limit of what can be achieved by exclusive devotion to one academic pursuit. Medicine, theology, industry are all of them now accepting the aid of the psychologist. It is not unreasonable to ask the historians when they enter the field of public education to seek counsel from the same quarter.

J. J. FINDLAY.

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HISTORY AND ITS PLACE IN EDUCATION

CHAPTER I

DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY OF HISTORY

INSTRUCTION in history of one kind or another has been pursued in colleges and schools for more than a hundred years—seriously pursued, that is, by teachers following some plan or method. This lapse of time has sufficed for the development of ideas about the instruction, and the plans adopted here and there have undergone great change. Hence one would expect that historians, when they spare time to discourse on method, would themselves illustrate their appreciation of the historical point of view by tracing the history *of* history teaching. If we were handling the teaching of geography or of mathematics we might be pardoned for neglecting to consider how principles and methods have evolved; the teacher of

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history, however, should be ready to demonstrate his faith by works, for one of the grounds on which he defends his subject is that it cultivates the historical habit of mind. In all branches of study, indeed, the teacher, searching for principles of method, should be encouraged to revert to the past, should go back to some point of departure, twenty or fifty or two hundred years ago, and see how the present situation has arisen. The value of such researches might be illustrated in the treatment of any school subject; but we must keep to our own task: in this book we can only glance at the past of history teaching, although the record would well repay an exhaustive treatment.

In its original sense, the term "history" was comprehensive, embracing any kind of knowledge that a writer could set down. If this wide connotation had been retained, it would now embrace nearly all the studies of a school curriculum. It became narrowed in its scope because some word was needed to indicate a treatment of knowledge in which a *sequence of events traced in their relations* was specifically desired; knowledge became divided under the two great cate-

gories of time and space: when you treat events under the aspect of time you are a historiographer, or, as we now say, a historian. This distinction is of capital importance to the teacher because the child to whom we introduce history repeats (here as in other objects of thought) the experience of his ancestors. Time-values only develop slowly in his mind, and we shall presently notice that the construction of a scheme of time is one of the first purposes to have in mind in planning a school course of history.

From this point of view history itself is a method, a way of looking at knowledge: the botanist and gardener are using it when they consider the story of a plant, or of a genus, from seed-time to harvest: Aristotle, for example, wrote what he called a History of Animals. But once more, for convenience of speech, we exclude natural science from the domain of history: Darwin's researches depended largely upon time-values, but the record he submitted was described by the term *evolution*, and it is still a matter of controversy as to the extent to which a theory relating to organic life can be applied to the behaviour of mankind. For so soon as the Greeks, the

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first writers of history in the accepted sense of the term, began to compose narratives, they began to limit the term *ιστορία* to our knowledge of human affairs as distinguished *from* natural science. And by the time the Roman, Lucian, writes a discourse on *How History ought to be written*, the term has undergone a further restriction: its special field is now limited, not only to man as distinguished from other living creatures, but to *groups* of men, to the life of communities, above all to those national or racial societies which we call States. Men continue to write "the history of" law or religion or trade, but when they deal with history without the "of," with history as a specific study, they have in mind a comprehensive handling of the total life of a community. Thus, if a historian chooses France as his theme, he may make use of the story of its art, its literature, its philosophy, its science, but his central aim is the French nation as a whole. We continue, however, to speak of "the history of" any field of human endeavour; "the story of" chemistry and "the history of" chemistry are equally serviceable terms to denote an account of past endeavours in that science. But,

when the academies during the last two centuries began to differentiate fields of study with precision, the province of the historian was commonly accepted as concerned with affairs of state, or at least of a group or type of human beings who have shared a like experience and may therefore be described as having a history.

This emphasis on the community affords a clear distinction between history and biography. In natural science the distinction is scarcely needed, for although the doctrine of evolution recognizes the uniqueness of every organism and stresses the need for recording the characters and the fortunes of the individual, in a species such differences are only considered in order to establish the identity of items *in* the species. But in human affairs the one and the many can scarcely be subjected so easily to the levelling process. Eminent historians like Thomas Carlyle make their whole conception centre round a succession of "heroes": and a great monarch complacently declares *L'état c'est moi*. Nevertheless, the distinction between the historian and the biographer can hardly be confused. The task of the historian in distinguishing individual from

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type is far harder than that of the scientist, but the difficulty of the task does not obscure his aim. Biography stands as material, quite essential but still only material, to aid in building up a larger and more general conception: the writer of history seeks to narrate events as a whole so that his readers may secure a collective impression in which great personalities play a part, yet only the part assigned to them, on the stage of national or racial fortune.

This, one hopes, the reader will accept as a brief but correct account of what has been understood by history in the academies of Europe for the last two hundred years. When we come to the position as it has evolved in schools, we find at first that the subject was just transferred from the academies and the professors to the schools and the school teachers: it was only about a hundred years ago that teachers began to be concerned seriously with the transfer. So far as the present writer is aware, Thomas Arnold, the famous headmaster of Rugby, was a pioneer in this field, and was the first English teacher to discuss methods of history teaching. He was himself a historian of some note, and, indeed, became a professor of the subject

in his own university. What happened with history is identical with the process which appears in the pedagogy of other school studies. They first become important in the eyes of scholars, of grown men, and are elaborated in seats of learning: sooner or later, as interest in the study develops, the schoolmaster is invited to lend a hand and to give to his pupils the benefit of advancing knowledge. The historian, instructor or researcher, desires to extend his field and invites the teacher to become historian, or at least to become a devotee.

Now in the nineteenth century this extension of history teaching, from the universities outwards, was favoured by the cheapening of books and papers, still more by the rapid extension of railways which enabled these to be carried to and fro through the post. The schools, that is those which we now call secondary schools, had always been in close touch with Oxford and Cambridge; these links were now strengthened by the "local" examination system which carried the control of the academies everywhere. Parallel, therefore, to the elaboration of historical studies at headquarters (already by 1875 the History School at Oxford was

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a popular rival to "Greats"), we witness the extension of the study among schoolboys and schoolgirls. So that when the time came for organization to lay its hand on them, prescribing schemes of study (which these young folk had to pursue if they desired to complete the circle of interest, themselves donning a cap and gown), history appeared as a *compulsory* subject, along with studies which had a more venerable claim upon the scholar's attention. No one nowadays disputes the propriety of demanding from the matriculant some evidence of historical knowledge, albeit this knowledge until recently was largely confined to "the history of" the mother country.

This limitation in range, to English history, reminds us that the motive for extending history in schools did not arise solely from the academies. The scholars had the nation behind them in seeking to extend the influence of history, so long as the term was confined to the English nation and the British Empire. For while history as an academic study was largely a development of the nineteenth century and was by no means limited in range to the British Isles, there had been no lack of popular interest,

long before the days of Hume and Macaulay, in narratives describing the public affairs of Great Britain. The two strands of influence, one proceeding from scholars, the other from public opinion, combined to place history in an unassailable position among the branches of a liberal education.

This position was, however, only accepted as regards places of higher education, i.e. for pupils who went to school to acquire something more than the bare elements of knowledge. Side by side with developments in the universities and the secondary schools, the province of primary instruction was being enlarged with equal rapidity, but the policy as regards instruction in history was by no means so easy to define. Everyone was agreed that children, even of tender years, could be interested in the stories of their native land, provided that the narrative contained an ample supply of dramatic and picturesque detail ; but no serious effort was made to find a compromise between the intellectual treatment of history as an adult study and the lively treatment of story adapted to the immature outlook of children. For the organizers of the schools, as well as the teachers, found enormous difficulty in

getting children over the initial stumbling-blocks of the three R's: until a child can read and write, until he can make use of numbers with facility enough to appreciate the passage of time in a list of dates, it is futile to bring history before his notice. Since those days the teachers' skill in imparting the three R's has greatly increased, partly because they have realized that children actually overcome the mystery of letters more readily if they are supplied, quite early in the adventure, with story that is worth their while to read, instead of having their attention confined to the details of words and sentences. Hence, as the teachers improved in capacity, the children were given a better chance: history "readers" were put into their hands, and as time went on the best of these productions really served an educative purpose.

But the problem raises questions more intricate than those concerned with capacity in reading and writing: the child's approach to history is an affair of mental development; as soon as we pass backwards from the years of adolescence to the stage of childhood we raise issues which the organizers of public education are only now beginning to face.

It is of no avail here to appeal to the universities and ask them to extend still further the influence of their studies ; no avail to take the works of great historians (which grown-up folk can read with pleasure even if they have not enjoyed a college course in history) and boil these down to suit the simple capacity of childish minds. All that can be done in such directions has been done in the hope of putting something labelled History at the disposal of childhood : publishers and scholars have produced historical readers in ever-increasing quantity and with great advance in quality, but it has become more and more clear that the task of *approaching* history cannot be solved merely by rewriting such books and by giving teachers a better grasp of historical method. The teacher has been compelled to turn to genetic psychology, to investigate the child's interests and powers, and thus arrive at what is meant by the historical habit of mind, or, as it is sometimes called, the historic sense. He has to trace the steps by which biography, personal incident, vivid story grow into the highly organized structure that is properly called history.

This hasty sketch of development shows that the place of history in the scheme of education can only be grasped if we give separate treatment to successive stages in experience. We shall therefore trace these in succession, concluding with a discussion of the deeper meaning of history when the grown man inquires how the past can enlighten him as to the meaning and method of life. Let us begin, therefore, with the little children ; but before considering their case, we may pause to inquire in more detail what teachers and other men have in mind when they propose history as a school subject.

CHAPTER II

AIMS AND VALUES

The knowledge which we call history rests upon the sense of cause and effect, the sense of the social unit, the sense of time, the sense of the value of a true record.—*Studies in Historical Method*, MARY S. BARNES.

And he spake unto the children of Israel, saying, When your children shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean these stones ? then ye shall let your children know, saying, Israel came over this Jordan on dry land.—*Book of Joshua*, chap. iv.

THE four elements summarized above are inclusive of all that is commonly meant by history ; the narrative handed down from the records of Israel illustrates each of them. These travellers had no books, but they were bidden to make a true, even a statistical, record by means of stones. Their purpose was to keep the event in memory, making use of the developing sense of time. The event was concerned with the whole tribe, the community who here entered the threshold of their new home. The monument they erected was designed to commemorate more than the place and the time ; it sym-

bolized a cause and an effect: the parting of a waterway by divine intervention. Thus a thousand years "become but as yesterday when it is past, as a watch in the night."

Some critics may be disposed to question whether the sense of cause and effect is really a matter for history in particular, since this must need be a common attribute of intelligent beings. We noticed that the ancient use of the terms *ἵστωρ* and *ἱστορία* had a general reference to all kinds of knowledge quite apart from the position of such knowledge in a time series. Yet the circumstance that in later epochs these terms have come to have a more restricted intention should not induce us to ignore the basic fact about knowledge: all that we know, all that the infant adds to his mental store, must convey *meaning*, must relate facts in terms of cause and effect, otherwise it passes from memory. The relations so established may be fanciful, myth or romance or "giddy invention," but, as the psychologists are now freshly reminding us, the desire to rationalize experience lies at the root of mentality. Hence our distinctions between historical knowledge and other knowledge, e.g. natural science, are not

to be made in terms of mental process, but solely in terms of interest. We know the natural world of things because we are equipped with powers to see and feel and handle the things of sense ; we know society because we, from the cradle onwards, are social beings, and history is of interest because it treats of our fellow-men.¹ But it treats of these from its own point of view : history only began when the human species had advanced so far as to be conscious of their memories. Every organism lives in time, and changes, either in rise or fall, by virtue of its past ; life can only be conceived as continuity. But it is only man, and man advanced pretty well on the way to an ordered life, that sees himself and his kind in memory. Here we have the distinctive quality which defines history apart from other kinds of humanistic study and therewith fixes the aim of teacher and learner when engaged upon history. They are concerned with *change of men in course of time* ; some call it the stream of events, others the narrative, others the evolution of a nation or a people : but whatever terms we adopt our purpose cannot be

¹ *Are History and Science Different Kinds of Knowledge ?* (Symposium in *Mind*, October 1922).

confused with that of other seekers after knowledge. Sociology, law, politics, geography are equally concerned with the human race, and such studies are of value to the historian: the causes and effects treated by students in those fields may often use the same material as he uses, but to a different end: the end of the historian is to trace sequence in what he calls the historical order, the order of relationship as one event follows another. His ideal quest is to see the end of a human enterprise from the beginning. The relationship of which he becomes conscious is not merely a time relationship, but a consequence, an influence, a cause-and-effect relationship.

But what *are* the events, the human happenings, which form the material for the historian's contemplation? It is obvious that he cannot take all that happened for his province: the vast accumulation of recorded facts is but a drop in the ocean of man's doings. He has to *select* out of the whole mass whatever seems to him to be of outstanding importance; he notes the significant items in a man's behaviour or in the fortunes of a group of men; affairs come to a head and take shape in a crisis; a law is

passed ; a company dissolves ; pilgrims set sail to a new world ; Moscow burns and the French retreat. Such occurrences may, some of them, be dramatic, while others stir us but slightly, if at all : their value to the historian is not because of their stimulus to sympathy or passion, but because of their indication of change, their significance in the flow of events. History, then, is selection, and selection involves sifting and discarding, arranging and relating. The historian's responsibility is great : he finds access to the records, to the dry-as-dust material left by the ages, and picks out, for the benefit of his fellow-men, the few occurrences that his judgment pronounces to be important ; the rest goes back to the dust-heap. His eminence as a historian derives chiefly from this power in selection ; for he can only create an intelligible story so far as his intuition enables him to discern the relevant items of which the story is composed. True he also needs to cultivate the arts of the narrator, especially if he seeks to put his interpretations before a wide public ; but literary gifts are not to be confused with the qualities which mark the sound historian.

It should be added that this process of selection has always been at work from the earliest epochs of which we have knowledge. Assyrian tablets, Jewish chronicles, clan-songs of Polynesians, each and all are contributions to history. The topics chosen for record are not matters of chance: the baldest list of names has purpose and sentiment behind it. The only difference between these primitive makers of history and our modern historians is that the latter possess a larger interest, taking a wider perspective of the human scene and hence can dive deeper into the relations of cause and effect. Both are concerned with telling a tale of vivid interest to their fellow-men, and a tale which is true to the facts as they conceive the facts.

In the passage put at the head of this chapter, "the sense of the value of a true record," is noted a fourth element in the mind of the historian. We may include this as another way of indicating the need for selection. The historian's sense of truth is more than the desire to be accurate: truth shows many faces; the record which he sets down is designed both to keep alive the memory of what has actually

occurred and to present the occurrence as significant, as charged with meaning. When Assyrian tablets narrate the exploits of a proud monarch to the exclusion of all else, we take the narrative as a true picture of what these august personages believed to *be* important: nothing else was worth commemorating; posterity, in their view, would not seek for further enlightenment. They took pains with these records partly, no doubt, because their swollen pride found satisfaction in the performance, but quite as much because they had come to realize the value of such testimony to succeeding generations. Here, they said, is the truth, the salient facts that matter: by the very act of stamping events in imperishable clay they chose out what they believed to be significant and thus unconsciously passed judgment upon the civilization of their epoch.

The mention of Assyrian tablets will remind the reader of the varied sources that the historian should tap before he can claim that he has selected all the facts relevant to his inquiry. In vulgar opinion the writer of history needs nothing more than a library in order to compile his narrative, converting many old books into a single new one: we

see to-day that the most striking historical discoveries come from objects buried by the dust of time, and that the ethnologists can deduce reliable evidence as to the past by examining the present behaviour of the lowliest races of mankind, of men who bear in their faces and in their customs the signs of cultures long forgotten by less primitive peoples. And the newest interpreters are recognizing the need for equipment in psychology : a record of the past is the revelation of a state of mind, of a view of life other than that possessed by the historian. Unless he possess some power to translate himself, to disrobe himself from his own social heredity and see his forbears at their angle of vision, he can scarcely claim to reproduce the truth. Long ago this difficulty was felt as regards language ; and hence the first equipment of the historian has been a capacity for reading foreign tongues, and, in more recent times, for skill in palæography. But since philology alone is merely an exchange of terms, converting a strange expression into one more familiar, it is soon realized that the essence of the process is not attained until the inner mind of those who used the terms is pictured by the translator.

Let it not be supposed that this task of disassociation is easy : on the contrary, it is almost insurmountable. As we look, for example, at the library shelves of our great English historians, David Hume, Macaulay, Freeman for example, we see how their own views of society and of politics governed not only their selection of material but the judgments they formed of the flow of events. Their successors, recognizing the danger to truth that springs from bias, have sought to protect themselves ; they sometimes entitle themselves " scientific historians," claiming to be equipped with a detached view of the world which will enable them to stand neutral, noting and recording the flow of time even as watchers on another planet. But the dilemma cannot wholly be avoided even by the most sincere, the most remote and severe aloofness ; another generation, endowed with a new social outlook, will see the old world with new eyes and will need once more to undergo the toil, to re-read the palimpsest, re-examine the Act of Parliament in the light of a new psychology. The effort, however, even though it never achieves complete success, is not in vain. For the purpose of the historian is to in-

struct his reader as well as himself ; the reader, the pupil, learn from the scientific historian a deeper respect for truth and for the final purpose which is served by historical truth. How vast that purpose is we shall consider again when we seek the aid of the philosopher to exhibit the function of history in the full-fledged mind of adults.

The Social Unit.—We have already noted in Chapter I that many historical records deal with the achievements of individuals, but we saw that while biography is an aid to history the two stand wide apart in aim. The historian seeks to trace a movement, flow, stream in the common life of a community ; he exposes what is general, typical among an infinite variety of particulars. He relies, in his own mind and in that of his readers, upon this “ sense of the unit ” and seeks to display his narrative in terms which will enlarge our conception of social purpose and social power. He may restrict his review to an isolated group of men, military men in armies, men of religion in churches, traders in industry, but his final aim is to see all these sectional interests playing their part in the larger life of community. This larger life is called

politics, and if we keep the term politics on the high plane, embracing the general current of evolution in a race or people, we can identify the proper task of the historian with the study of political development, with the search for general principles of social behaviour which have governed the destiny of the races of mankind.

Accepting this as the aim of the historian, what is the aim of the learner of history, the student, child or man, who listens to what the historian has to tell him? His purpose is evidently the same: he is just seeking what the historian has found. He turns to history because he is human, one with his kind: his primitive sense of time-values, growing from days of infancy, bids him seek for explanation of the now in the no-longer: his sense of relation between general and particular, between type and instance, makes it inevitable that he should welcome the efforts of the historian to put meaning into the flow of events. The critic may distrust as much as he pleases the final value, the absolute truth of these interpretations; he may contrast the confidence of the chemist who predicts with absolute assurance the behaviour of oxygen and carbon with the

caution of the historian who cannot predict. No such criticism avails to call a halt in the search for truth : " the proper study of mankind is man " ; and this study will never cease to hold his interest. The very circumstance that the past, even to the greatest of historians, is veiled in mystery contributes to its fascination.

It will be agreed, however, that all men and women are not equally devoted to this pursuit ; far from it ! The tendency is there, for the desire to relate present with past, cause with effect, is a universal quality of mind, but it soon atrophies unless it is nourished. With most men a superficial explanation, a rationalization as the psychologists say, of past events is supplied in early youth : the child takes the story as it is given to him, and this precocious acceptance of some fragments of the truth serves in most cases to quench the thirst for more.

Hence, when teachers conceive their mission aright, they realize that the true function of history, as an influence in the learner's mind, is to cultivate what is called *the historical habit*. By this we mean that the native instinct of curiosity which leads the child to seek for cause and effect should

be nurtured by good teaching until it becomes a settled way of handling events: a mode of attention which reverts, in all human dealings, to the historical point of view as the normal way of getting at the soul of things.

Let us illustrate from the profession of medicine where history, as commonly conceived, plays no part. The physician's immediate duty is diagnosis, the observation of his patient's symptoms, and the interpretation of these particulars in the light of general principles. But he knows, to-day more than ever before, how greatly his scientific observation will benefit if he learns something both of the history of his patient and the history of the disease. Each of these pieces of knowledge, being history, cannot have the precision of natural science, but they are enlightening because the patient is himself a product of time and because the disease has played its part in hundreds of previous cases. By turning to these histories the physician obtains an access of knowledge of which no one can dispute the value. This knowledge, we repeat, is concerned with generalities: it puts the immediate situation before the physician's

mind in terms of a long-continued narrative ; he handles the case with the historic habit of mind.

We must be careful here in our description of the mental phenomena. Up to the last paragraph we spoke of history as being specially concerned with politics, and we are now speaking as if medicine were also a part of history. This is quite true : medicine can be looked at as matter for history just because patients are human beings and because disease has played its part in human affairs ; the physician treats them historically, if he is a sound physician, just because he seeks to elucidate the particular from the general. Politics is history *par excellence* simply because it treats of the *most* general and universal aspects of man's behaviour, man with his body-mind, with nerve and muscle and sense-organs as well as with his mental equipment. The physician needs to cultivate and display this same historical habit of mind specifically, in relation, that is, to his own profession. It is possible for him to display this talent in the specific field of medicine alone while in other spheres of thought he may take little account of history : in politics itself he may be narrow-

mined. All mental habits possess the same peculiarity ; they do not spring *ab initio* from the air ; they are cultivated in specific fields, and only by distinct efforts of will and attention can they be spread and idealized so as to become a large habit of mind which the possessor brings to bear upon every situation in life. To possess a historical habit of mind in relation to one's own calling is good ; but to possess a general habit which leads a man to trace the end from the beginning in every event that confronts him is best of all. This is habit idealized, used as a permanent source of power, and in some degree it is the mark of the educated man as distinguished from the superficial mind that lives only from one moment to another.

Here, then, is the real ground for giving a place to history, to the history of politics in the school. Not only is it of intrinsic interest since the learner of history is to be a citizen, but it is history in its most universal form ; it is calculated, if pains are taken to make the study a real acquirement, to give the learner a habit of viewing all phenomena in terms of the social heritage. Thereafter the student is equipped with a

power which he can transfer at will both to his daily calling and to all the affairs of humanity: intuitively and without effort he will henceforth use the historian's weapons in every branch of knowledge where past experience can throw light on present behaviour.

Having arrived so far we see that our next step is concerned with method. Evidently the learning of history is not achieved merely by the accumulation of data: though, of course, an adequate mastery of facts is a necessary part of the process. Two pupils may have covered the same curriculum in historical epochs and passed an identical examination; one of them may have acquired power and taste in appreciation of historical movement while the other has only mastered the details for the purpose of satisfying the examiners, with little development in historical habit of mind. The latter, in our sense, has not learnt history to any effective purpose. If he proceeds thereafter to mount the ladder of a profession he will scarcely achieve the heights, for even the narrowest tracts of investigation, be they humanistic or scientific, need the illumination that comes from a grasp of fundamental

principles whose sources reach back to the foundations of life.

History, then, is knowledge, knowledge of human affairs, especially of those affairs which concern the community as a whole, and it contemplates affairs as a moving spectacle from past to present. Its function, we say, is to enable a man by reflection, by stepping backward, to gain a better vision of truth.

But, now, is that its only function? If we accept the guidance of many who plead on its behalf we shall look further afield. The most popular plea advanced for devoting attention to this study in schools is that it is essential to the cultivation of the civic spirit, patriotism, citizenship, devotion to public service; these terms and phrases make a great appeal, both to teachers and to the public. The State, through its offices of public instruction, has a direct interest in stimulating young people to a lively sense of national obligation and of social service. How far are we justified in laying this obligation upon the teacher of history?

The question may be put otherwise. How far is the teacher responsible for the cultivation of right sentiments as well as of

sound habits of reflection? In the scholastic tradition, whose course we have traced since history was first taught in the academies, a question of this kind would be dismissed as of small importance. A sharp severance was maintained between the intellectual and the emotional life: the teacher's function, so far as history was concerned, was to instruct his pupils without intruding any sense of a mission, such as is suggested by terms like inspiration, patriotism, national service. But times are changed: people now realize how powerful an instrument the school may be made to produce deep and lasting sentiments in the plastic minds of children. The world has witnessed the effect of such efforts on a gigantic scale: in countries such as Germany, France, Japan, the United States, where from different motives a strong impulse towards national pride and glory has moulded public life, the school teachers have been avowedly employed as political agents expressly charged with the duty of developing the sentiment of nationalism. Up to 1914 the school system in Britain appeared by comparison far less anxious to stir the hearts of our children, but this apparent lack of

zeal admits of a simple explanation. The national sentiment in Britain is of ancient date and had become incorporated, shall we say, in the unconscious mind of our people long before the school system was even dreamt of. Already, before the days of the Stuarts, the English stage resounded with the most inspiring and exalted expression of patriotism in all literature :

This blessed plot, this earth, this realm—this England.

A nation which for five hundred years lived in this creed had no need to resort to history lessons as an inspiration.

Now that the Great War has passed over our heads, it becomes clear that the excesses of this "inspiration" may put civilization itself in peril ; hence the reformers are seeking to cultivate a new sentiment, based on a new interpretation of history, which will keep patriotism within bounds, checked by a devotion to inter-nationalism, an all-embracing social sense such as will unite the nations in one brotherhood. Is the teacher to dedicate himself to this new crusade or shall he stand aloof ? There are two features of human behaviour that can be recalled in order to clear up this issue. First of all, we

Let us also bear in mind that the history teacher is not exclusively appointed to discharge this office : everyone who deals with the child, both at school and at home, has a like obligation to bring him into harmony with his social environment. It is at this point that I feel disposed to break a lance with those who would plan the History Syllabus avowedly as a "School of Citizenship." Miss Madeley's inspiring book under that title is full of sound ideas, but it suggests that the teacher of history is a sort of specialist in civics, concerned more than the rest of his colleagues with fostering the social virtues. On the contrary, every branch of the curriculum which touches on human life helps the child to shape his ideas about the groups of which he is, or will be, a member. Literature, art, geography share with history the responsibility for turning wayward children into citizens, into good men, "good" not only as voters and politicians, but men of good-feeling, of public spirit in every circle to which they belong. Citizenship, in fact, is by no means to be learnt solely by the aid of the historian ; even in their intellectual aspects the salient facts of present-day govern-

ment, local or imperial, are only partially conceived, and often misconceived, when the attempt is made to trace phenomena to their origin. Without withdrawing for a moment the plea we have made for cultivating the historical habit of mind, and without denying the evidence for the practical value of this habit as witnessed in the achievements of eminent historians who have also done signal service in politics, we must be careful to keep apart things which stand apart in actuality. The present-day world, alike in township and in empire, can only be understood, and the men and women who play their part in it can only win our regard, as we come into direct experience of their organization, changing its shape from day to day. In this, as in another case, it is often wise to say, "Let the dead bury their dead." There are occasions when the members of a corporate body, great or small, should "praise famous men and the fathers that begat us" with all the ceremony and pious grace that befit such memories: there are also occasions when the dead hand of tradition must be rejected as an oppression. We are on safer ground, therefore, when we treat the history lesson, both in school and college,

on its own basis : its office is great enough without our seeking to extend it. As we follow the development of method through the successive stages of a child's life, we shall take it for granted that the generous selection of material and a wise freedom in method will tap the sources of civic devotion, although on the surface the teacher is only concerned with his distinctive function, viz. to cultivate the historical habit of mind.

NOTE

Mr. Leech, after reading this chapter, considers that my discussion of citizenship gives the impression that history in schools can be handled apart from ethics, apart from its value in the formation of character. Can we afford to let the lessons of history work out their own results with our pupils? No, indeed! But every school pursuit has a like office to discharge : there is not a single occupation proposed for our scholars which can be excluded from Herbart's great dictum, "The one aim of education is morality." I would agree, however, that history and literature, as directly concerned with human affairs, have a more intimate concern with conduct, with ideals; and yet I feel more impressed with the need for putting morality and religion on a broader basis, as aspects of life that should inform every branch of study, rather than relegate them to the sphere of any select group of instructors. Both in selecting historical material and in handling it the history teacher has undoubtedly a great opportunity; and yet I would not require him, as an overt obligation, to point the moral and adorn the tale. It is here, if anywhere, that men differ in personality and power, even when they agree in their conception of ideals.

Hence, in a very real sense, I would plead guilty to Mr. Leech's stricture and would be content to let the lessons of history work out their own results. But I would select before-

hand the kind of history to be learnt, the book to be read, the tests to be imposed. To this extent, at least, my pupils should receive guidance and control.

So much I am glad to add by way of accounting for an omission which others besides Mr. Leech may have observed. Here and there I betray a belief that history should serve to help children to virtue and godliness (see e.g. pp. 110 and 130), but I rather take this for granted as the common-sense pedagogics of all who are called to the office of a teacher. I left it on one side in my desire to expose the distinctive specific matters involved in the definition of history. The more extended treatment of ethical aspects belongs to a general treatise on educational theory rather than to the narrower purpose of these chapters.

CHAPTER III

FROM FOUR TO EIGHT YEARS OF AGE

CAN we seriously speak of teaching history to the four-year-olds? We certainly can, if we mean thereby to lay a foundation for the historical habit of mind: some years pass before "school" history can claim his regard; but he has already reached a mental level which places within his grasp the elements discussed in Chapter II. He has become conscious of the social unit within the home circle and among his little playmates; the sense of time, as night follows day, as weekday follows Sunday,¹ has caught his attention; he has begun to combine cause with effect in his personal relations and the flow of movement which we call story holds his interest. "Once upon a time" is the traditional opening for the infant tale: the very fact that "time" is mentioned shows that the listener has already

¹ See *British Journal of Psychology*, XII, Part 4, April 1922.

realized himself and his environment as concerned with the past. He is very far from that more definite sense of conventional time which will need our attention in the next chapter, but the necessary foundation is laid in experiences which neither parent nor teacher can do much to modify.

The story-teller and the story-book (so soon as the mystery of reading is fathomed) are the portal to history as well as to literature: no defence is needed for claiming a place for stories, false and true, in the curriculum of the infant school and kindergarten. This position is so generally accepted that the report on *The Teaching of English in England*¹ is satisfied to make only a passing allusion to "stories, rhymes, songs, and games" and "the various informal methods of the modern infant school." Furthermore, this allusion is only made in reference to the "acquirement of a considerable vocabulary" and "the power of self-expression" in English. Now if our view of infant-school education is confined to the standpoint of the artist in speech, we could rest content, as this Committee were, with the present

¹ Board of Education Committee, 1921; a most valuable pedagogic treatise.

situation and ask for nothing more than that the teachers of England should qualify themselves more fully to use literature, from the earliest days of school life, as the most available means to develop the taste of the English people. We cannot, however, allow the eloquent and moving "Introduction" to that report to blind us to the danger which their argument involves. Art is not life, but only one aspect of it: much as this report stresses the supremacy of moral issues in education it tends to ignore the limitation to which all forms of art are subject. The cultivation of English as an art is indeed an indispensable duty and should be an unfeigned pleasure in every class-room; yet any such ideal, if separated from other experience, tends to throw the life of young people out of gear.

The adult, even the adolescent, can appreciate art values as a separate source of delight, and can consciously pursue the ends of taste; but with children the case is otherwise. To put language and literature on a pedestal as a central theme of interest for their minds is to misinterpret child nature: "English" to them cannot be an end but only a means, and a means which only claims their regard

because it enters quite subconsciously into the real circle of interests which occupy the stage.

We cannot be content, therefore, to leave the infant school to pursue "stories, rhymes, and songs" without further inquiry as to how these stand related to the whole of childish experience, to a mode of life in which both a taste for literature and an apprehension of historical values should, in due course, play a worthy part.

We can analyse the infant's field of interest into two parts: on the one hand we see him concerned with the satisfaction of instincts, with the food and clothing, with sunshine and rain, with his own body, with bright lights, with barking dogs—with everything, in fact, of an objective nature which comes into the orbit of his sense organs and of his organic needs. On the other hand, "Little children have their observations and thoughts mainly directed towards people: what they do, how they behave, what they are occupied with, and what comes of it. Their interest is of a personal rather than of an objective or intellectual sort." ¹ This distinction in the

¹ Dewey: *The School and the Child*, p. 63.

field of interest is paralleled by the mode in which the infant mind operates. His images of social life are fanciful : he makes a play of them ; we can, in fact, say that his whole attitude towards behaviour is a play attitude : negatively we call it *unreal*, because he has no sense of reality to which his fancies must conform. Wordsworth described this treatment of the world in terms that cannot be bettered :

See, at his feet, some little plan or chart,
Some fragment from his dream of human life
Shaped by himself with newly learned art ;
 A wedding or a festival,
 A mourning or a funeral ;

But it will not be long
'Ere this be thrown aside,
And with new joy and pride
The little actor cons another part.

But there is no fancy about the bread and butter on his plate, or the ribbons and buttons which vex his endeavours to dress himself. These are the true realities of experience ; here he is one with his fellow-creatures, old and young, and displays an insistence, a vital urge which he shares with all organisms, plant and animal alike.

Now insomuch as these two fields of interest are observed by us as playing a

separate part, we tend to encourage their separation, whereas the child himself is a unity, a personality which seeks to combine and reconcile these diversities of capacity and range. This craving for unity he manifests in the free plays on which he engages when allowed to do as he likes: he plays at "a wedding or a festival," at keeping school or laying the table because such items of social behaviour have invaded the circle of his practical interests. He finds food for imagination in the trivial round since it is only by synthesis that he can maintain the sanity of his inner personal life. Some such theory as this has to be held if we are to explain the content of the great classical stories which held the mind of childhood in antiquity and of those traditional nursery rhymes and songs which are still, though in decreasing measure, the heritage of English children. For Hebrew children we note the story of Joseph; for the children of Greece the story of Nausicaa; indeed the whole epic of Ulysses' wanderings serves as illustration. All such adventures have this common quality: they find their material in topics relating to the *home*, in corn and cloth, in fathers and mothers, in familiar

animals : these are the indispensable stock round which kings and queens, heroes and gods are permitted to perform their deeds. The stories have been treasured by children down the ages not so much because they dealt with the past of their own people, but because the things which were handled in them were the same sort of things, the life that was lived was the same sort of life as that which they were enjoying (or enduring) in the "real" world of kitchen and garden, of field and wood. Viewed in this light the classical literature of childhood is found to be much more than literature, much more than arts of poetry and prose. To the Hebrew or to the Athenian child these narratives were historical in the true sense : they imparted, no doubt, much sound historical information, although the characters were more or less fictitious ; but the historic element we have in view lay not so much in the narrative as in the power it gave the child to link present with past, to find meaning lying back of the common day : in a word, to cultivate the historical habit of mind. The stories were indeed fully charged with meaning because the Greek child from earliest years and in all ranks of

society was engaged in the varied activities of hearth and home.

In Browning's short poem called "Development" we have a true picture of the influence which such stories can exert upon the infant mind. The quotation we make in the next chapter will show that the classics can renew their influence in the curriculum from infancy right through the stages of development. The story-teller, therefore, has always been the first teacher of history, and the infant-school mistress is the inheritor of a tradition which wise mothers and fathers have followed since men first discovered a history to hand on to their offspring. But a special difficulty confronts us in these modern days. We have seen that the story to be effective must combine practical experience with imaginative narrative. Unfortunately, the great mass of English children now live in towns, surrounded by a civilization which with every decade since, say, 1830, is more and more severed from the old world. The experiences necessary to make vivid the stories, songs, and rhymes of bygone days belong to an environment where the open field with its plants and animals and the domestic scene of social activity were close

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to the little ones. How, for example, can we tell the story of Polyphemus or sing "Baa Baa, Black Sheep" to children who never see a sheep, white or black, who never handle wool until it is turned into clothes? Shops, pavements, and city parks are places of exile to the young: no doubt they *can* play in such an environment; they play at keeping shop and can even make songs about sugar and tea, for sing and play they must. And yet no one will hold that tinned milk and potted salmon are effective substitutes for first-hand contact with the meadows where cows are chewing the cud and streams where fishes tinkle in the deep. Unhappily many teachers have not only acquiesced in this severance between reality and fancy, but do their best to bind "the inevitable yoke" more firmly on the infant mind. For their conception of schooling leads them to exclude, if not to despise, the humble pursuits of domestic and open-air life. School, they have thought, is a superior place, designed to "train the mind," aloof from vulgar employments with tools and earth, aloof from cleaning and washing, cooking and building. Thus a new social heredity is induced in the children, not by design, but because the

scholastic tradition combined with the industrial and civic environment have created a new world.¹ Such teachers, if they tell classical or fairy stories at all, offer them to children for superficial reasons: they find that such stories are interesting, they allege that they "train the imagination," or, as we noted above, they see a connexion with the art of language.

When, however, it is realized that stories of the past can scarcely touch the foundations of personality unless the infant mind is familiar with the social setting the teacher has two alternatives. On the one hand he can frankly abandon the attempt: he can claim that the child lives in the present and can "let the dead bury their dead." Instead of wasting time with forgotten fancies he would devote all the energies of the school-day to laying foundations for intelligence, with Froebelian gifts or Montessori apparatus. He would copy the example of the producer of *Faust* who substituted a sewing-machine for Marguerite's spinning-wheel, explaining in the programme that spinning-wheels were out of date, and that Smith's

¹ I have developed this theme fully in *The Children of England* chaps. ix and x.

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sewing-machine was both efficient and cheap. The other alternative is to attempt to re-create in school the atmosphere of practical activity which is no longer provided by the social environment of home or of city. This can only *be* an attempt and can only meet with partial success, for it is difficult indeed to recapture a lost vision ; but the reformers of infant-school method who have taken up what are called " primitive man " occupations succeed to some extent in giving significance to the stories of Robinson Crusoe, Hiawatha, Joseph the Dreamer, Nausicaa, as well as to nursery rhymes. By appealing to motor activities, acting out the behaviour of the characters, by allotting little practical duties to the little folk, a sense of reality is created which is actually a foundation for history. At the same time, it has to be borne in mind that these activities are not introduced as a device just to create an atmosphere for story : they are justified on their own account, as a foundation for the development of arts and crafts, as an introduction to the intellectual grasp of number and form, and as exercise in the use of tools and material : all of these being necessary elements in the growth of a complete

personality. This reform, under various guises, has now been extending its influence for some thirty years. It is a normal development from the "mother-plays" advocated by Froebel, and serves as a counterpoise on the humanistic side to the ultra-scientific tendencies of the excellent apparatus offered in the Montessori system. The intellectual leader in this reform is John Dewey,¹ whose contribution both to child-psychology and to class-room experiment is of outstanding importance.

It may occasion surprise that both in this and in the last chapter reliance has been placed on American contributions rather than on those from Great Britain or the Continent. But there are sound reasons for believing that the leadership in educational reform, so far as the life of *young* children is concerned, now rests with the United States. The conditions of society in Switzerland and South Germany gave in past days an opportunity for Pestalozzi and Froebel to accomplish great things for mankind: there are conditions, widely different but equally favourable, which in these days enable teachers like John Dewey

¹ *School and Society* and *The School and the Child*.

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to exercise an influence no less extensive for the advancement of a like cause.

If the principles of this reform be accepted, the place of history in the infant school is secure. The teacher, like the father in Browning's poem, is a historian and sees the end from the beginning: as a teller of tales who couples the story with practical activities, he enables the child, in some degree at least, to recover the social atmosphere in which the story lives and moves.

CHAPTER IV

THE APPROACH TO HISTORY DURING CHILDHOOD. *a.* THE SYLLABUS

As the child passes forward from the years of infancy to the stage in life which we call childhood, his disposition assumes a comparatively stable form: he is now able to absorb knowledge at a rapid rate, if offered to him in a shape that he can assimilate. We need not turn aside to sketch the mental qualities of our young scholar: the reader will be conversant with the general description of childhood which is offered in books dealing with educational psychology. As far as history is concerned the child's practical interests enable him, indeed they urge him, to secure definite impressions, facts, and details with which in the previous stage as an infant he had no concern. He sets out on the track of *ordered* knowledge; the stories now placed before him are still delightful merely as story but they also

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engage his attentions as affairs that can be set in a *scheme*, a scheme of *time* which we call history and a scheme of *space* which we call geography. By this is not meant that the normal child of 8 or 9 seeks to put down names and events in a date-book or a time-chart, or that he hunts up every place-name in an atlas : all we assert is that in his inner mind he is putting these details in some provisional arrangement by mental processes similar to those which lead him to arrange tramcar tickets or foreign stamps. He will pursue such activities with increasing zeal up to and beyond 12 years of age ; and if he is studiously inclined, and if he is abetted by sedulous teachers, he can garner a fine harvest of information. Now the very fact that his disposition displays this quality tempts the teacher to rely upon it, to make of childhood a period for rote learning and cram. There are in fact some teachers who hold that advantage should be taken of this facility in absorption so that the mind may possess a store of facts which can be used in later life. But this is a dangerous philosophy ! We have no guarantee that the youngster will use the facts at all : he can collect and arrange dates, kings, battles,

parliaments, just as he collects and arranges stamps ; ten years afterwards he may have forgotten both, for if he possess a surprising capacity in holding these facts during a brief period he displays an equal capacity for discarding them when new interests take their place. Nevertheless we must not go to the other extreme and condemn the acquirement of a groundwork in chronology and topography as beneath our notice. We must not make these attainments the goal of our instruction, but in their place they are important : important, as we have said, just because these practical boys and girls want to get things into shape. One ought, therefore, to expect that by 11 or 12 years of age our school children will have made headway in acquaintance with large events of bygone time. The best teachers now display considerable skill in promoting the child's power in chronology. Miss Madeley's account of bridge-heads and time-charts can be consulted with benefit. Experimental work has also been set on foot to give us more precise data ; the *questionnaire* tests worked out by the Misses Oakden and Sturt¹ present only a preliminary effort, but the educational

¹ See reference, p. 38 above.

implications at which they arrive are worth quoting :

“ In the first place, it seems that up to 11 years of age in the elementary school, i.e. up to about Standards IV or V, conventional names of time-periods, especially dates, have little meaning for children unless they are explained and correlated with the child's own activities ; e.g. when a week, or a year, or two years, or twenty years is mentioned, it should be connected with the life of the child, mother, family, etc. Much might be done if the periods of time used in ‘ time ’ sums (usually taught in Standard III) were made more meaningful. It is easy to show what a second or a minute means : and a little discussion on how long lessons last, how long school-time lasts, how long since and before holidays would all educate children in this way. Games and sports involving time are all helpful here. Definite and direct teaching *on* ‘ dates ’ is required whenever they are given in the lower standards. In view, however, of the apparent lack of interest in such conventional names, it seems that the picturesque and descriptive aspects of

history are those which should receive most attention. . . .

“ Pictures, models, charts, dramatization, handicrafts, are all means to this end. The chief fault which is noticed in this connexion is the narrowness of scope. . . . This fault is most noticeable in history dating from the Christian era ; it is not so apparent in the more primitive history.

“ Little ability to conceive of continuity and development is apparent up to 11 years of age. This should be left to the higher classes : but in the opinion of the experimenters time-charts could be much more extensively used than they are at present. The concrete pictorial representation of a conventional and abstract thing is thus given to the child. In no school where these tests were carried out was a time-chart used.

“ Since in many elementary school children there was a tendency to place epochs, events, and people in the order in which they appeared in the child's own consciousness, and not in the real chronological order, the concentric method can perhaps be called in question ; especially since the primitive and early historical periods appear to be most interesting to

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children. The use of a time-chart might counterbalance the dangers of the concentric method."

This last paragraph is particularly worth noting and the whole report serves as a precedent for more elaborate and extensive investigation on similar lines: if a few history teachers of ability would collaborate with experimental psychologists and take the same pains in such investigation as are taken in historical research, our knowledge in the whole field of method could be rapidly advanced. For example, the above research records a sudden advance in the curves between the ages of 10 and 11. This may be accidental, for only a few children in a few schools were examined; if, however, it were confirmed on a large scale, the phenomenon would demand a corresponding modification in method as well as further research into stages of development in other regions of experience at this age.

It should be noted in passing that the attempt to get at the mind of the average child by quantitative methods needs to be enlightened and checked by the more detailed diagnosis of a few individuals. Here, again, little has so far been recorded; the

psychologist, Ramussen, in Denmark¹ has kept a diary of his own two children ; his account shows that the Binet Tests relating to conventional time-values are quite inapplicable to children bred in a cultivated home.

Now while stress is rightly to be laid on chronology as indispensable to the later grasp of history in the conventional sense, we readily see that the apprehension of movement and of event is aided more and more by other avenues of experience : the sources of these we noted in the previous chapter. As the child comes more and more into contact with practical life his curiosity takes on a more intelligent quality. His interest in place and time is supplemented by mathematics, i.e. by a foundation of mathematics in counting and measuring. No one doubts the child's need for development in power over number : chronology is obviously a quantitative affair, a reduction of the vague conception of time intervals secured during infancy to a scale of measurement, a scale which like all other scales can only be appreciated on the basis of intuitive experience.

¹ W. Ramussen, *Child Psychology*, three vols. (Gyldendal, London, 1920.)

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This is clearly indicated in the investigation of Oakden and Sturt. The practical conclusion for teachers is that during childhood the curriculum must be handled as a complete and united scheme: specialism in cut-and-dried arithmetic, money sums, or physical measurements, may leave the child destitute of power to measure time.

The question of topography is equally important: it completes the trinity of categories—time, number, space¹—which are concerned in every effort to define social experience. All events to the childish mind happen in some place: the child fixes spatial points by means of inner pictures, regardless whether or no these are helped out by pictorial illustrations. Hence the teacher, while he is supposed to be teaching history, is also engaged on geography; alternatively, if he gives the child a geography “reader,” helping him to image events as attached to places, he is willy-nilly a teacher of history also. The attempt to separate the two at this period of life leads to many disasters: for example, it tends to make of geography a static affair in which towns and buildings are fixed, immune from change,

¹ See *An Introduction to Sociology*, chap. ii.

whereas it is essential to the grasp of movement that the sense of change, of evolution in all creation, should be insensibly fostered throughout the curriculum. Certainly the child must have a map ; he needs many maps, and for the time being his map of England or the plan of his village may appear to be as static as the road which he treads day by day between school and home. The very fact that his eyes repeat the impression of permanence makes it more difficult to grasp the principle of " change and decay in all around " : more urgent it becomes that his study of human events, relegated in common practice to another department called history, should not be cut off at all, but should be synthesized in one syllabus.

We here arrive at a principle which has long been recognized by educational reformers, which, indeed, was implicit in old classical curricula from the days of the Greeks onwards, but which was abandoned in the nineteenth century when the elementary school (or, as I prefer to call it, the primary school) became organized on novel theories. This principle refuses to dissipate the child's attention between three " subjects" labelled history, literature, geography, but treats the

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three as one. A story of wide scope is brought to the child's attention, epic in its range, literary in the books wherein the events have been handled; geographical also, since the narrative is placed among races of great fame whose dwelling-places and goods find their appropriate place in the historic movement. A distinctive label is required to indicate such a comprehensive study, and for this purpose we can appropriately revive the term *Humanities*,¹ which bears an honourable record in the history of culture. The theme is man, "the proper study of mankind"; at great periods of education, pagan and Christian alike, humanism has always stood at the centre of liberal education, for by hearing of human endeavour we learn, and our children in their turn will learn, both how to live and how to die.

It will be seen that this denial of a divided scheme of instruction by compartments is no denial of the claims of any of these to a place in the child's regard. On the contrary, a united syllabus of humanistic study is just the matrix out of which in due course the three studies will emerge to

¹ See *Principles of Class Teaching*, pp. 67, 68, and *The Fielden Demonstration School Record*, vol. ii, chaps. iv, v, vi.

separate consciousness. A rich experience of narrative,¹ domestic, national, world-wide, between 8 and 12 enables the young thereafter to realize the separate functions of history, geography, and literature. As regards history, he has secured both a groundwork of chronological fact and a store of picturesque incidents; his lively interest has been secured in a gallery of great men filling the chart of time, and performing their rôle in a pageant of events. When this elementary stage is passed and he comes to years of adolescence he can, if leisure permits, become a real student of history, consciously seeking to trace effect from cause in one or other of the great epochs of man's endeavour.

Again, for fear of misunderstanding, let us

¹ This rich experience is described in other terms by Archer, Owen, and Chapman in *Teaching of History in Elementary Schools* (1916), pp. 22-8. They rightly deprecate the attempt to make a special affair of social history, so-called. While I have emphasized the need of narrative, i.e. of a lively sequence in the tale, they stress the value of "impressions," of a multitude of ideas relating to common life which are woven into the texture of a good story without any attempt to shut these up into compartments, each holding so much information. "The dreary chapters on social conditions . . . with the headings food, clothing, housing, customs, inspired me with disgust." And yet "social conditions are the bedrock of history." The illustration from the book of Genesis is very much to the point.

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repeat that the passage from stage to stage is not abrupt: in childhood there is plenty of interest in cause and effect, and many a child can give an intelligent explanation of the difference between history and geography. All we assert is that the study of social institutions, and the reflections and sentiments stirred by dealing with the leaders of men who have fostered these, does not normally take a prominent hold of our pupils before the age of 14, and even then many of them will never take to the study *con amore*, while others will only find it of interest in later life: in any event it is not the concern of childhood. Accepting this as our general philosophy of the situation, we can seek some arrangement of historical material so that during the years from, say, 8 to 12 a child comes into contact, i.e. makes a bowing acquaintance, with the chief epochs and the outstanding characters in history and with the chief countries where these events have occurred; above all, with works of art, at least of literature, in which these facts find noble expression.

Local History.—It is necessary first of all to consider how far the immediate surroundings of the child can be utilized. Local

history is seen in its true aspect if we adopt the title Regional Survey, since the help given by locality renders service not only to history but to geography and literature: it gives, that is to say, the aid of perception, of personal impression through sight and movement, to a world of ideas which otherwise tend to wander in the vagaries of fancy. Regarded as serious historical study local history has no claim on the syllabus either of the primary or the secondary school: it is a proper subject of research both in the universities and further afield among local residents who cultivate historical or scientific tastes. Among such residents the school teachers should be pre-eminent since they can pursue regional studies with a double purpose, first of all for their own enjoyment, secondly for the enrichment of the humanities syllabus.

The child's interest in his region can be appealed to as soon as the syllabus touches on events which occurred on the native soil. When he is invited to learn of the Celts, Romans, Angles, Danes, Normans, and Franks who came in succession to Britain, he should at the same time be shown that there are traces within his ken of the activities

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of some or all of these races. At later periods, and right through the secondary school, material can be found which will answer the same purpose: the mediæval castle, the Elizabethan manor-house, old farm-house furniture and utensils—indeed, the whole contents of the local museum will help a young scholar, if his mind from infancy has been led to associate the distant with the close-at-hand. Coming to the most recent history, the war memorials, the scrolls which seek to preserve the memory of our dead, even the ghastly tanks and guns which are deposited in our public places, have already become for our children materials for history rather than reminders to their mothers and fathers of a poignant tragedy. We have, then, to avoid two opposite errors: we must not ignore locality, especially in the primary school, where sense-impression is so appealing; on the other hand, we must not cut off locality as a separate subject, begun in April and finished in July. It is quite reasonable, however, at some convenient juncture to turn our youngsters for a few weeks into observers, absorbing their attention in the examination and exploration of locality: such intense application is, in

fact, necessary in order to create the interest and fill the imagination of the young with a lively image of men and women who actually worked and played on the very spot where they now learn their lessons. It is for the teachers in each locality to select a convenient season for this intensive study; their choice will be guided by the materials at their disposal: where an old castle or church is within reach it can profitably engage attention for several weeks and will be studied during the same year that the class is engaged on mediæval history. Where such outstanding remains are not to hand, the teacher is often inclined to fold his hands and say that his district has nothing to offer to children from the past. This complaint is especially vocal in the dreary colliery and industrial districts where the exploiter in his haste has been ready to bury or to destroy the past; but the complaint is unfounded. There is scarcely a square mile of British soil which is without its lesson: we must take our country as we find it, and in Britain at least the work of our forefathers still stands for those who have eyes to see and ears to hear. Ears as well as eyes, for dialect and place-names are

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already in the child's speech, available for "survey" if the teacher uses his wits.

In newly settled countries, in our colonies and dominions among the pioneers, the complaint of lack of material is even louder: their teachers lament not that the past has been destroyed but that it has never existed. Australian aborigines can scarcely supply the place of Ivanhoe and Gurth the swineherd. This must be granted, but with the proviso that the recent past is, for the purposes of the child, just as valuable as the relics of antiquity.¹ The present writer once discussed the position with a company of teachers of British stock working far away from England. Their scepticism was hard to convince, so he spent an hour or two in the library of the local university and thereupon was able to tell them the romantic story of the early settlers in their land, men of their own flesh and blood whose deeds (some of them, it must be confessed, sufficiently violent!) had hewn a way through the forests a century ago. They had forgotten these records, despising what

¹ Croce holds that "all history is contemporaneous history." And the paradox of this doctrine presents more difficulty to us than to the minds of children. See H. Wildon Carr: *The Philosophy of Croce*, p. 195.

seemed to them to be trivialities, longing to take back their children to Old England. Their error was in failing to grasp the child's psychology. Regional survey is a necessity to him, one of the basic experiences on which a rational history and a rational geography are founded: even if you grant that the locality is sordid or petty, remote from the great and glorious deeds of men, it is *their* locality; nature at least is kind and good, and out of their own homeland, if they learn to love it, they can fashion a new earth.

Let us now attempt to draft a syllabus for the humanities that could be adapted to the needs of any child between 8 and 12, whether in an elementary or preparatory school.

Days before History.—In Chapter III we left the child emerging from infancy engaged on stories of early man, which were made more real to him by their association with simple occupations, handwork and toolwork. He is now ready for more precise instruction, embracing the earliest periods in which human development can be pictured *as* development: in the infant school the stories have no fixity in time or space; they happened somewhere, “once upon a

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time” ; their sources may be pagan or Christian, nursery or classical—it is all one to the infant. Now that his sense of reality has advanced he can make definite acquaintance with the earliest men of his own race. The many thousands of years which these epochs covered have no quantitative meaning to him, but the difference between a man who uses flints and a man who uses bronze tools is within his mental grasp : the caves and hutments of early man at war with great beasts are of vivid interest ; the idea of man as a wanderer driven by ice and tempest to seek food and shelter is vague, but it is needed if the later story of man is to be intelligible ; the fears that pressed incessantly upon his imagination find a response in the little heart that beats with anxiety when the thunder rumbles and the dark forest roars in the rising wind. Is this part and parcel of the humanities ? It is certainly not history ; it is rather *Days before History*,¹ as Mr. H. R. Hall has so happily entitled the study : as an academic study it is anthropology, and the anthro-

¹ Also *The Threshold of History*, by the same author. It is interesting to see that the *Cambridge Ancient History*, in its first volume just issued (1923), accepts pre-historic narrative as necessary to a complete exposition of the life of man.

pologists have now thrown sufficient light upon the fortunes of early man to enable the teacher to use their conclusions without straying too far from matters of fact. It is not geography as commonly understood, but the forest and the waters, the animals and plants, the habitations and tools are a foundation for all that follows in the apprehension of geographical ideas. And it is not literature, for the description "*days before history*" implies that the documents on which the historian relies are lacking. The literary form in which the race has kept alive the memory of these epochs is the myth. Some teachers have attempted to put Northern Mythology, tales of Balder the Sun-god, and the hammer of Thor at the disposal of young children, but the success of these efforts is scarcely assured: a teacher gifted as a story-teller may perhaps bring such stories back; at any rate, if they are to find a place in our curriculum, 6 to 8 years is the proper period for their introduction, and the story-teller needs to accompany his story with instruction about prehistoric ways: these the child will work out, if he gets the chance, both in handicrafts and in open-air games.

Another mode of approach to early man is to ignore mythology altogether and invent a simple story with fictitious characters ; round their adventures are woven culture material taken from anthropology. Hall's *Days before History* and Catherine Dopp's *Story of Ab* are well-known examples. The limitations to the use of any such book is that many children at the age of 8 cannot read fluently enough to enjoy printed narrative : those that can are often found coiled up in a chair reading a book when they had far better be busy out of doors. The teacher, therefore, must still be the storyteller, or at least must be a good reader, so that the children will be ready to listen for many minutes at a time while the adventures of Brian or of Ab are unfolded. One requirement in such literature is that it be well written : the narrative should hold the reader as a tale, albeit the narrator designs to make a picture of a civilization. If the tale is faulty then the teller of the tale must mend it, for it is certain that little children will only take a superficial interest in flints and caves and bears unless the human folk play a human part in the adventure.

Of all attempts to unite mythology with

childhood those made by Rudyard Kipling seem to reach high-water mark.

And see you marks that show and fade,
Like shadows on the Downs ?
O they are the lines the Flint Men made
To guard their wondrous towns.

Trackway and Camp and City lost,
Salt Marsh where now is corn ;
Old wars, old Peace, old Arts that cease,
And so was England born !

She is not any common Earth,
Water or wood or air,
But Merlin's Isle of Gramarye,
Where you and I will fare.

It is true that there is more history than mythology in *Puck of Pook's Hill*, but the flavour of the myth is there : and the illusion of sincerity which Kipling spreads with such ease over the whole narrative makes the book, to my mind, the most effective introduction to national history that has so far been offered to English children. Here, again, as with *Days before History*, the story is planned to be read by the children rather than *to* them ; but in this case the limitation does not apply. We need not make too much of this objection, for both Hall and Kipling can be enjoyed by children up to 12 years of age. It is true that the

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“ magic ” of *Puck* may put off some superior-minded children, who would call it silly because they know no better ; but even they may be drawn, in spite of their scepticism, into the fairy ring and begin to see what “ giants, trolls, and kelpies ” meant in days gone by. Unfortunately Kipling’s books, especially with the illustrations, demand a price beyond the reach of education committees or the parents of poor children. If I were in the confidence of Mr. Kipling’s publishers I would broadcast *Puck* over the English-speaking race with cheap school editions.

From cave-men and myth the child advances to the cradle of civilization, with records in brick and stone to certify his facts. The cycle of stories centring round Joseph and his brethren has for three thousand years been cherished by Hebrew children, and with the spread of Christianity has become the common possession of children the world over. Here we have literature at its best, clothed in language which, with slight alteration, can be made into a child’s book, helped out by descriptive matter and by maps to give the youngster his first impression of the mysterious East. The

Sunday schools are in some cases making use of sound pedagogic methods in handling this story, but that is no reason why the day school should neglect its duty. Humanistic teaching rejects any line of demarcation between secular and sacred: we need not distress ourselves as to the notions which a child may form of the divine call to Abraham, or of Pharaoh's dreams; whatever conceptions a teacher may hold of God and man he may leave the child's imagination to take its own course.

A few weeks spent in passing from Nineveh and Babylon to the Nile and to the Mediterranean will land our traveller at the walls of Troy, and here once more a feast of epic story is handed down to him. Perhaps already in kindergarten or infant school or in a nursery he has played at Greeks and Trojans.

My father was a scholar and knew Greek.
When I was five years old, I asked him once

"What do you read about?"

"The Siege of Troy."

"What is a siege and what is Troy?"

Whereat

He piled up chairs and tables for a town

Set me a-top for Priam, called our cat

—Helen, enticed away from home (he said)

By wicked Paris, who . . .

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So far I rightly understood the case
At five years old : a huge delight it proved
And still proves—thanks to that instructor sage
My Father, who knew better than turn straight
Learning's full flare on weak-eyed ignorance.

It happened, two or three years afterward,
That—I and playmates playing at Troy's Siege—
My Father came upon our make-believe.
“ How would you like to read yourself the tale,
Properly told, of which I gave you first
Merely such notion as a boy could bear ?
Pope, now, would give you the precise account
Of what, some day, by dint of scholarship,
You'll hear—who knows ?—from Homer's very mouth.
Learn Greek by all means, read the ‘ Blind Old Man,
Sweetest of Singers ’—*tuphlos* which means ‘ blind ’ ;
Hedistos which means ‘ sweetest ’ : Time enough !
Try, anyhow, to master him some day ;
Until when, take what serves for substitute,
Read Pope, by all means ! ”
So I ran through Pope.

Thus the joyous venture proceeds : and
the reader, if he cares to look up Browning's
Asolando, will enjoy *Development* as much as
the boy Robert enjoyed Pope. And at the
same time he will see how fact and fiction
develop into a grown man's philosophy ;
how history, fact or fiction, and pre-history
serve to fashion men.

I have introduced this illustration from
Browning partly to show the difference
between story-telling as conducted in the

infant class or kindergarten and the beginnings of history as pursued a year or two later. The same narrative may often be employed at the age of 8 as with the five-year-olds, but the response of the listener will be different.

A year of school life in the East, wandering westward with Abraham, and back again with Alexander to the distant Ind, is short enough, but the child, like the curriculum, does not want to halt too long by the way. With Rome and Cæsar we pass to the Western world and touch the soil of Britain. By this time, for the child is getting on to 10 years of age, both the time-chart and the map are getting to be within his grasp, so round the story of Britain, southwards to Gaul and Italy, northwards to Scandinavia, the outlook can enlarge with Cæsar, Boadicea, Alfred, Canute, William the Norman; with Patrick and Columba, Augustine and Dunstan, Canterbury, York, and Holy Island.

These adventures carry him over 1,000 years: the East has been transported to the West and he has now to see how the heritage of these far-off civilizations bears fruit among his own people. For the next

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school year he lives in mediæval Europe, with cities and countryside such as still surround him : he will run up to Scotland and cross to France with the Edwards and the Henrys ; but if his books and his teachers be wisely selected, he will give his attention to the common folk such as told tales to Chaucer, to Piers the Plowman, to Carlyle's monks at Edmundsbury, as well as to the gallant knights of the ballads who fought at Bannockburn and Crécy, and the less reputable outlaws of the forest. The span covered from 10 to 11 in this syllabus measures, as time flies, 500 years ; but life moved slowly in those leisurely days. After 1500 the pace quickens, and the year from 11 to 12 is all too short to stretch from the golden age of Great Elizabeth to the epoch of Wolfe, Friedrich der Grosse, Washington, and Napoleon. Still, the child has enlarged his own powers ; as outlook expands capacity and vision also widen. Nor is it necessary to try to teach everything : there is much, especially in the politics of 1600 to 1760, that is of small account—small account at least to the boy and girl who for the first time are confronted with the deeper matters of party politics, with

theological disputes and constitutional issues.

The plan for a syllabus here outlined is not exactly followed, so far as I know, in any school, but something like it is common enough among teachers who are free to follow out their own ideas : in the two schools with which I was associated a while back¹ we evolved something like it, especially in the Fielden School, Manchester.

It carries the child at 12 years of age (i.e. at a time when a new horizon in life is opening out to him in pre-adolescence) to the frontiers of the world in which he lives. There is as deep a gulf between the England of 1870 and the England of 1770 as stood between the England of 1550 and the England of 1450. The three revolutions, American and French, affecting politics, and the industrial revolution creating a new town civilization, have given to all children of our epoch an outlook on life, i.e. a social environment quite alien to that of the eighteenth century. I do not pause to argue this position, for I have recently dealt with it in another book.² It may be

¹ See reference, p. 60 above.

² See reference, p. 47 above.

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difficult for some to realize this cleavage for the older folk of our city population heard in their childhood many echoes of the earlier time, especially if they were brought up in villages or small towns. There are people still living whose parents were born before Nelson fell at Trafalgar ; two or at most three generations suffice in many cases to recover these dead memories. But for our children they are dead : they are as much matters of history, to be learnt by study, as the whole pageant of the past which we have reviewed in the above pages. Some of the younger generation may be inclined to hold that 1914 also marks the end of an epoch, and that a new civilization has come to birth since the war. They would point to the Russian Revolution as equally significant with the two earlier movements in the Thirteen Colonies and in France and would urge that the loom of time spins ever faster and faster. But the five years that have elapsed since Versailles are too short a span to enable either young or old who have lived through the last ten years to judge of the issues. For our present purpose it is enough to mark off the nineteenth century as a new time

to which the youngster, now turning over a new leaf in his own development, must apply himself with new methods of study.

While the age of 12 by no means sets a limit to the period of schooling, it is evident that in other pursuits besides the humanities this point in development is being more and more recognized as a point of departure. The pupil who goes forward with his education in a secondary school begins his new career at about this age, while for those who finish their all-day school at 14 two years are left in which to add some sort of topstone to their earlier interest in the humanities by learning so much as a boy or girl can learn of the nineteenth century, of that immediate past to which the present is so intimately tied (Chapter VI below).

It is beyond our province to discuss the validity of the differences existing in our educational system between the provision made for "working class" children and for the minority who enter a secondary school. These differences are themselves matters of history and will not vanish in a night: schemes of curricula, to be of practical

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service, must accept the *status quo* of things as they are.

So far as the present chapter is concerned, the conclusion can be best expressed in negative terms: the syllabus in humanities should *not* concern itself with events beyond the eighteenth century. On the one hand, the earlier history, both of our nation and of the world beyond, is vast enough to fill the child's mind to overflowing: each of the epochs to which we have assigned a school year affords matter for two: with the most rigorous selection much that is of interest has to be omitted. On the other hand, the salient problems of our epoch are not for him. Bismarck, John Bright, Gladstone, Roberts and Kitchener were great figures, but all the value that he could get *as a child* from contemplating their career is better secured in contact with the heroes of an earlier time. And the movement of democracy, of philanthropy, of social progress, so-called, is still more remote from his childish apprehension. If the humanities have done their work on him during the five or more years since he ceased to be an infant he will have gained all that he needs as a foundation on which to build. History

with its sequence in time will now have meaning for him, separate from geography which now can pursue its own course ; the atlas takes its proper place as a tool of knowledge, physical maps, historical maps, political maps all are ready to answer his questions. Above all he will have found the value of literature. A wise teacher will have already, during the last two or three years, put many books into his hands, and some of them will have laid hold on his imagination both for the story they have to tell and for the style in which the narrative is rendered. In the last chapter we deprecated a treatment of historical narrative which would convert the humanities into a department of " English " cultivated just for the sake of artistic expression. None the less the scheme we have outlined is designed to achieve the highest ends which the artist can set before him in teaching the English tongue. With the Bible and Homer, with Cæsar, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Chaucer all rendered into our common speech, with the whole gamut of literature, from the Ballads to Robinson Crusoe, at his disposal, our English children, as they enter on the next

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stage of life, are already dowered with the heritage of their race—with taste formed on the racial speech whose accents they have learned by heart.

CHAPTER V

THE APPROACH TO HISTORY DURING CHILDHOOD. *b.* THE METHOD

I WRITE *the* method deliberately, for there is only one underlying principle: all the variety of methods which the pedagogues discuss are derived from that or they are vanity. The child's history is story: if he gets the story, i.e. *if the story gets him*, all else—chronology, topography, things of place and memory—will hold: if the story does not fasten upon his mind all else evaporates. By story, of course, we do not mean merely romance, but we do mean the movement of events conjoined with the lives of men and women who played a notable part therein. The best way to see the force of this principle is to observe how easy it is to forsake it. We need not repeat what has been advanced in Chapter I. Teachers of the young have been all too ready to intellectualize history and geography, seeking to *explain* the passage

of events and the behaviour of men, whereas their duty is complete when the movement is pictured and felt. When Alfred, King of Wessex, learns Latin in boyhood and forgets to mind the cakes in manhood, the question is not *Why* he did these things but *How*. There is, in fact, no explanation: you may say that Alfred let the cakes burn because he was thinking about something else; but *why* was he thinking about something else? Why couldn't he attend to cakes when cakes required attention, and forget his precious kingdom for the time being? The child, invented by some theorists, who is always "asking why" does not exist: and the teachers who try to turn a narrative into an argument encourage an empty-headed precocity. It has been my duty for years past to witness many history lessons given to children, and the majority of teachers fall into the same trap. The teacher has sat at the feet of history lecturers who, quite properly, try to show that there is some reason in the chaos of human happenings: it is quite appropriate to the "college" period of life to give an intellectual, academic flavour to human story: the student thereupon, turned into a teacher of the young,

seems only able to reproduce the academic method. This caveat should not itself be perverted: we do not deny that children possess intelligence, but they are not ripe for argument; relations of cause and effect play rather on the margin than in the focus of attention. This is at least the case in affairs concerned with behaviour, where they are only as yet getting the data upon which, in later life, they can pass judgment. The type of reasoning they enjoy is in the concrete: we may, perhaps, call it pragmatic: it works best in matters of counting and measurement, in games, and in all matters of immediate activity.

This suggests a positive point of method, viz. to give the youngster opportunity for expressing the narrative through his own activities. After all, the only result in his actual experience from hearing or reading a story is the images that he forms in his own inner life: the teacher's objective is to secure that these images shall be as lively as circumstances permit. The traditional mode is to require the learner to compose, orally or in writing, a summary, or an essay, giving back in his own words what the teacher or the book has expounded. So far

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so good, but to rely solely on power in speech or pen is a deprivation and a denial of the child's capacity. The outcome of such lesson learning is to turn history into memory exercise, into a perpetual examination to see whether a sufficient residuum of historical fact has been retained. In the process æsthetic values are forgotten ; the narrative as presented is, or should be, a work of art ; when rehashed by the pupil in examination form it becomes a catalogue. A great step in advance was made when illustrations were attached to the letterpress of history school-books. Even if nothing is said about these the learners at any rate are active in forming impressions through their eyes ; they form images of the appearance of the characters and places about which they read. Most good teachers now supplement these small illustrations with pictures on the class-room walls. Continental publishers have been far ahead of England in such productions : for thirty years past it has been possible to procure from abroad series of coloured illustrations, adapted to the æsthetic sense of children, far superior to anything which our artists had devised.

But whatever books and pictures can

achieve they still leave the child without an effective appeal to his own powers. He is certainly receptive and will take in a great deal ; but his personality is only lightly touched unless we give further range to his activities. Our ideal purpose is to enable him to enter "into the skin," as we say, of the historical characters, and to do this he is ready to use all his powers, alike in drawing, in dress, and in speech. Of late years there has been a most rapid development of what is called dramatic work in schools. All the best secondary schools, and some primary schools, now give theatrical representation a place in their syllabus, and in some cases such occupations are closely associated with the scheme of history teaching. The movement is not solely due to progress in method : the fact is that the cinema has laid a hold upon the present generation, and unless the schools can in some way supply a counterpoise to its influence, the children will hold our history and geography in contempt. While, however, any wholesome attempt to relate drama to the school is to be approved, there is a good deal that is meretricious in school theatricals. At their worst they offer crude attempts to reproduce the banalities

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of the public stage, exploiting the vanities of children for the admiration of foolish parents. No words are too strong to deprecate the mischievous consequences of such performances: children who are taught to present themselves for public admiration, either in dancing or in acting, are being prepared for an adult life in which they lose any other standard of behaviour than that of the music-hall. The circumstance that such entertainments are often "got up" under the plea of raising money for charity or for special needs of the school only emphasizes the wrong, for it gives the child a false idea of money values. We live in an age which is in many ways debased by commercialism and it is an additional calamity that children's art and parents' sympathies should be exploited for vulgar ends.

To discuss this position further would be stepping beyond the province of this book: suffice it to say that an analogous problem is raised by the reformers of the "grown-up" theatre. In both cases the guiding principle is the same, for the aim of the producer governs both method of training and quality of performance. The right

aim, for the child as for the adult student or actor, is to absorb himself in the play, without a thought as to the impression he may make on the beholders. If children are modestly brought up at school and at home, they do not unduly seek to display themselves any more than healthy schoolboys want to "show off" before a gaping crowd on a sports ground. At football their attention is on the ball, and in acting their whole energies can be easily stirred to get at the meaning of a narrative and to use all their powers, speech, song, gesture, costume, to give a better and better rendering of their ideas and sentiments : under such conditions the audience remains where it should remain, in the margin or in the background of consciousness. This dramatic activity is the natural sequel to the infant stage described in Chapter III. The child has passed out of the fanciful dreamland in which he formerly had his being : he is now wide awake, aware of the difference between play and reality. If you like, you can forbid him to play, i.e. you can suppress or at least ignore his dramatic impulses : *to the injury of his whole subsequent existence*. I put down these words with the fullest conviction of their

truth and should be prepared to marshal evidence from many quarters, if this were the right place to do so. Acting is not a trivial affair in a boy's or girl's development, for it hangs close to the texture of intimate experiences, to the waking dreams, the unuttered desires of the growing youth. Reduced to an amusement, to the level of the cinema or commercial theatre, the drama tends to cripple the child's powers, doing little to reconcile his inner self with the external world. If, however, the young actor be allowed to act instead of merely watching, his whole relationship to society may be transformed. The right time of life for giving freedom to this dramatic impulse is childhood: no doubt the adolescent and even the grown man can do much for themselves by association with drama; but if this golden time of childhood be neglected the lack can never wholly be supplied in later years—either in this or in any of the arts, whose cultivation, along with the drama, is so closely united with humanistic studies. For while I have treated the acting out of narrative as the most striking device arising from our principle of method, it is equally important to remember that any

form of artistic expression helps in its measure towards that effective appeal to the child's own powers of which I have spoken above. Thus, as regards illustrations, pictures seen and observed are useful, but the active child will be ready to compete with the artist. After examining, for example, a mediæval scroll, some children are certain to want to execute a similar design on their own. After a study of the Bayeux tapestry, with its childish drawings of men and horses, most children see the possibility of representing other events in a like style. Modern pictures, drawn in perspective with light and shade, are beyond them: they can enjoy looking at them, but their own powers in expression are inhibited if these later forms of art are given undue prominence. What the child does with modern art is to imitate the plan of his history-book: he will collect small pictures, where he can find them—often on picture post cards—and will paste these in his scrap-book¹ side by side with other memoranda of his history lessons. More important, however, for his development is the training of his expression in language: in speech

¹ See *Madeley*, as above, chap. viii.

rather than writing, for boys or girls are seldom fluent with the pen before 12 years of age ; and if they are precocious in composition, their handwriting, if not their spelling, runs risks. But these young folk are ready with their tongues ! The best witness to what can be here achieved is Mr. Caldwell Cook's *Playway*. In the eloquent *Report on the Teaching of English in England* we have a clear exposition of the position that the humanities should assume in the primary school. They must be part and parcel of one syllabus in which composition, chiefly oral, must take its place side by side with the reading of good authors. Now so far as this reading is narrative, whether in prose or verse, it is of the substance of history, and whatever device is found helpful from the point of view of development in literature, i.e. in appreciation and style, is at the same time helpful in gaining power over history. What, then, are these devices ? They depend upon the form in which the narrative is offered. A ballad, for example, is to be recited or sung in an art form corresponding, as closely as the changed situation will permit, to the style in which it was originally delivered to an audience. Tennyson's

“Revenge” can only make its effect when a number of children learn parts of it and unite to render it as a whole to the rest of the class. The task of learning passages by heart is a drudgery when there is no stir of feeling which leads the child to imitate closely the original ; and these emotions are promptly inhibited when the only purpose set before him is to gabble his lines or to scribble them on paper as evidence of mechanical industry. Exact reproduction there must be whenever a work of art is faithfully studied by a copyist. Such copying, in literature as in painting, is a discipline through which the learner mounts the ladder of fine art : and it is equally an exercise by which narrative, when expressed in classic form, serves as an approach to history.

Prose writers must be handled differently. From an Anglo-Saxon chronicle or the *Paston Letters* a child can construct and describe a situation : he, too, can write letters and put down events in chronicle and correspondence form. And when a class is given a historical novel, or a biography containing dramatic elements, they are ready by the age of 10 to make a play of it. I know that some purists in style, professors and critics

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of English, throw contempt on any manifestation of desire by children to compose verses or plays: I have heard, e.g., very scathing comments from such quarters on the *Perse Play Books*. But the evidence collected by the Committee on *The Teaching of English in England* will carry the day. No doubt some teachers, echoing the parrot cry of "freedom and originality," will reduce such pursuits from the sublime to the ridiculous; but the issue has to be decided by our knowledge of child development and our recognition of the mental processes at work in the acquirement of artistic power. With children as with adults the worth of any form of composition, *to the composer*, is to be judged by its genuine service as an expression of his personal experience: defects in form can be overlooked for the moment if the exercise proves to be a real attempt to portray the movement of events.

When once we have fixed this central feature of method the minor concerns will readily fall into their place: and while they are of less importance, they must not on that account be neglected. They are concerned with order and with accuracy. Proper names should be spelt correctly; the teachers and

text-books can help to this end by refraining from multiplying the details. It is marvellous how accurate children can be when their writing and their sketches are produced under the influences of art, as something, that is, which is a personal achievement. I recollect a class of twelve-year-olds engaged on mediæval history¹ who spent infinite care in producing large octavo note-books, subsequently bound and illuminated as exercise in handicraft, each of them containing a miscellany of material, some of it "original" composition, some of it extracts from documents, some of it, again, a time-chart scheme, with appropriate illustrations. No examiner inspecting such a set of books could doubt that these youngsters were learning to remember facts with fidelity while advancing in the real mastery of history. But these books were not prepared for inspection, any more than were the chronicles of a mediæval monk.

The *order* of events, shaping in the child's mind with increasing precision as he passes from one epoch to another, has been discussed above (p. 53). Somewhere between the ages of 10 and 12 the child is ready for

¹ Fielden, *Dem. Schl. Record*, vol. ii, as above.

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a diagrammatic scheme of the passage of those epochs which have occupied his attention since he was 8 years old.

Every student of history, child or man, forms in his own mind some image of this order in time : the teacher's task is to help the learner to form a series which will be of the greatest practical help. There are many ways of meeting this requirement. When the arrangements of a class-room make it possible, a series of large sheets pinned up along the walls and gradually filled in, not only with names and dates but with pictures, is one of the best devices.

Books of dates and events have been at our disposal for sixty years and more. Curtis's little handbook was being used in schools in the seventies and this was presently superseded by the series issued by Messrs. Acland and Ransome, the largest of which has served since that time as a useful book of reference for university students. Such a handbook serves the same purpose as the atlas renders to geography : some of the later handbooks, indeed, combine an atlas, a date and event list and a picture gallery all in one. Money is well spent on procuring such aids rather than on the historical " readers " which still

flood the market. It is only, however, at the close of childhood that the learner will be ready for such aids: he ought to be introduced to their use, seeing in them a summary of the road he has traversed during recent years. Then in his secondary or continuation school he will be qualified to make good use of such tools, foraging for himself as well as in the comradeship of his class, and gaining a perspective which grows deeper and wider with every year of the march of time.

The Time-table.—We may conclude with an ideal sketch of the way in which a class of children should be occupied in the time allotted to humanistic study, including history, geography, literature, and composition. We have already pleaded that all these subjects should be regarded as one study up to the age of 12, i.e. to Standard VI in the primary school and the equivalent stages in preparatory schools or the junior departments of secondary schools. Now this arrangement involves placing the whole pursuit in the charge of *one* teacher (see p. 172 below). And when a standard or class is taken by the same teacher for eight or ten periods per week the problem

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of arranging a common-sense mode of study is immensely simplified. The school timetable as evolved during the nineteenth century is a marvellous testimony both to our powers of organization and to our faith in the efficacy of machinery. The only parallel to the life of a school-child under the sway of a seven-lesson-per-diem time-table is in the precision with which events are timed at a railway station, in a sports festival, or on the race-course. Certainly in all such matters, if a large number of people are affected by alterations in times and seasons, then everyone concerned has to adhere to the schedule ; but many administrators have come to believe that strict adherence to a schedule is required even when the changes made within a class-room affect no one else in the building. This superstition (our scholastic idols quickly attain to the majesty of power !) works with deadly effect in teaching children and infants, although the injury is by no means slight in the secondary schools where a complicated scheme has often to be tolerated. For fear lest a few incompetent teachers should waste children's time if liberty were allowed our organizers require that a specification under detailed

rubrics, labelled history, grammar, etc., amounting often to fifteen in number, should be set out for every hour or less in each day, and they then require that this schedule should be minutely adhered to unless a record is set down of the grounds for departure from it. The time is fully ripe for those who groan under this tyranny to assert their independence. The easiest way of escape is to adhere to the letter of the law, but to avoid disaster by diminishing the number of rubrics. It would take us beyond the range of these chapters to show how this reform can be applied to all subjects, but as regards history and the cognate studies it suffices to register them all in the timetable under the one word *Humanities* ; or if that label be rejected, then the old-fashioned term *English* or *English Subjects*¹ can be restored. It is then possible to carry on for two or more successive periods under this rubric, spending the whole time, if the need is felt, on a poem or map or a dramatic enterprise without the premature interruption of the clock after forty or sixty minutes. The public authority is

¹ The Oxford Local Examinations Syndicate still retains this term.

satisfied, since an inspector who is charged with the duty of seeing that the time-table is obeyed finds that the English Subjects entered therein are being pursued in one or other of their subdivisions.

Any fear that this combination of so-called subjects may involve the neglect of any one of them is set at rest by the presentation of the syllabus, which the teacher for his own benefit needs to prepare at the outset of the school year, showing in general terms the ground to be covered in each branch and the plans by which he anticipates the scholars will cover it. He attaches to this syllabus week by week a brief note indicating how the course is progressing and the examination of such a record is real evidence to public authority that the proper demands of the public are being met.

The Class Library.—I have felt bound to discuss the time-table, for in discussing reform with class teachers, especially with those in primary schools, I have found this to be the first obstacle that they present. Following thereupon is the lack of good books for the children to read. It has already been pointed out that the series of historical "readers" which the educational

publisher seems compelled (?) to prepare for school use are a useless survival. Their very title goes back to a time when history and geography were first introduced, with many misgivings, into the primary school. The "readers" were read aloud, on the assumption that the obligation to acquire one of the immortal "three R's" could best be met by providing each child with the same text, to be followed by a hundred eyes at the same moment. We are slowly coming to a more sensible mind: in one large city at least the Education Committee has devoted a large sum of money to the purchase of new books, and, if the teachers wish, every child can read a different book from the one read by every other child instead of each of them perusing the same text at the same moment. In other words, the class-room is provided with a library—a class library of works in biography, travel, geography, romance, poetry—dealing with the epoch on which the children are engaged during the school year. Instead of perusing only one or two "readers," each child will, during that time, read thirty or fifty, and some of these he will read again and again.

The books of which everyone *should* have

his own copy, at least after the age of nine, are what I have called the tools, the works of reference: first of all an atlas, secondly a time-chart or outline of history. To this should be added a collection of choice passages of poetry, and, in the higher standards, of prose suitable for learning by heart: with younger children this is not so indispensable, for what is worth learning by heart is worth also setting down in the best handwriting as a work of art, since no better exercise in penmanship can be devised than to copy with care a passage that is worth the pains.

Let me add once more, for fear of misunderstanding, that I am putting down these proposals after practical experience in more than one school. If an extra objection on the score of expense is presented one can only reply that the expense is not in any case so great as is incurred in apparatus for teaching science: and it is certain that both parents and education committees can be readily brought to see the value of training children to use good books, when once the teachers themselves are aroused to see the necessity for inviting public interest in what goes on in the class-room. The study of the

humanities is a local and national concern ; when presented in this light to the public no fear need be entertained that the slight additional expense involved in equipping class-room libraries will stand in the way of reform. There are many ways of getting books and getting at books, and the public libraries can often be requisitioned with success.

When books and maps are provided, sufficient at any rate to make a start, and when the time-table is set reasonably free, the road is clear. Teacher and children together have the simplest possible aim in view : to collect the best stories of the old times on which their syllabus engages them, to read these, to tell them to each other, sometimes by the teacher's word of mouth, sometimes by a scholar's discourse on Caldwell Cook's plan, sometimes by illustrations from drawing or from drama. On any morning when a visitor looks in on such a class he would, likely as not, find some of them engaged on one piece of work, some on another. One purpose, in fact, that we have in mind in clearing out the historical "readers" is to break down the false conception of class-room discipline which only

came into our schools in that unhappy period of education when the numbers of children to be taught multiplied excessively, out of proportion to the number of teachers competent to handle them. The Dalton Plan, which at this moment (1923) is being subject to experiment in many schools, is only one example of the need to break away from the stifling uniformity of class lessons, "given" by "chalk and talk" but less readily taken. The Plan, however, swings too far in the opposite direction: it postulates a syllabus cut up into assignments which the child will cover in succession as if he were alone in the world of books. The assumption is valid when a pupil is faced with a written examination such as Matriculation; and it is evident that the plan has many points of resemblance to the Correspondence Courses designed to prepare private students to answer public examination papers: they resemble each other in the excessive demand made on the pupil to use his pen. We shall need to consider the effect of examinations on history teaching in the next chapter; for children up to 12 years of age such considerations ought not to loom even remotely upon the horizon, even when

children are being submitted to entrance tests for admission to secondary schools. It is not surprising, therefore, that attempts recently made to "daltonize" the teaching of the humanities for young children come to grief. The great benefit that this movement is conferring on the schools is in its destructive criticism of the class-lesson fetish: we may cavil at reform as much as we please, but the challenge made by Miss Parkhurst and her friends has to be faced: each child must have the chance of working for himself. If we still hold that co-operation in the classroom is desirable we must abandon the mechanical procedure and adopt devices by which the extreme individuality of Dalton assignments is reconciled with mutual help.

The reconciliation is effected by considering the various kinds of activity evoked by the varied interests of the syllabus. If a child is copying a ballad or illuminating it with a scroll, that is an individual task; if, however, a group are designing a scene for a play they may well be engaged in lively conversation, three or four together. A pair can well co-operate in putting dates together for a time-chart, or in collecting relevant material to enter

on a map ; while a child will want to keep entirely to himself when absorbed in a story or a poem. These suggestions are easy to set down on paper, much more difficult to achieve in the restricted space of a class-room, especially when dealing with "free" children whose exuberance is hard to keep in check when their energies are fully aroused. Teachers are, however, overcoming such difficulties ; it is found possible to "break up" the class for diverse occupations and again to unite them for collective attention to the common problem. What is required above all is faith, conviction of the validity of principles ; when these are grasped a hundred ways are discovered, with the help of the children themselves, for removing mountains.

Note.—I have been tempted to extend this chapter by giving references to enterprises which illustrate the abundant resources open to teachers by co-operating with allies outside the school. The pageants, for example, which were held in many parts of England before 1914 should now be revived. I have particulars of a history exhibition which the secondary school at Stockwell arranged for the delight and profit of parents. The

Education Week at West Ham, July 1922, afforded a golden opportunity for the history teachers as for everyone who cares for schools and children in that locality.

Teachers who see how great a thing can be made of history are able in a dozen different ways to extend its scope beyond the limits of a syllabus, but, although the circumstances and needs of every locality differ, if the principle is grasped aid can be secured from experts very readily and I need not dwell upon details. As regards books some of the pamphlets published by the Council of the Historical Association are of great value: and in most localities there are men and women who have exhaustively studied local antiquities. As regards drama we are witnessing every year an increase in the number of people, amateur and professional, who are ready to help the school so soon as the teachers ask for help: the Arts League of Service may be singled out as specially calculated to assist the school teacher.

N.B.—*Pageants in Yorkshire*. Mr. Dawes' account in *The Educational Times*, Sept. 1923, is well worth consulting. He shows how a good piece of work can be done by co-operative effort in any locality, adding much to the gaiety of life as well as to the advance of knowledge.

CHAPTER VI

THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE PRIMARY SCHOOL AND THE SEQUEL IN CONTINUED EDUCATION

THE older a child gets the more complicated is the problem of his education: and still more complicated is the problem of the educator in arranging his schooling. The current scheme of national organization provides us roughly with four types of institution offered at the age of 12 to scholars belonging to different classes in society or displaying different degrees of capacity. The bulk of the nation's children complete their full-time schooling at 14, and a few of these enjoy a part-time course of education up to 18. A select few are sent during childhood to preparatory schools, and remain in these institutions up to about 14 years of age. Instead, however, of completing their span of full-time schooling at this age they proceed usually to public schools where a cur-

riculum is planned for a leaving age of 18. Evidently their syllabus of history study can extend far beyond what is possible to the young wage-earner, although in fundamentals, based on the needs of a developing nature, the curricula of these two extreme types of education should be alike. In other words, whatever claims history can make upon human nature are as valid for an errand-boy as for a peer's son.

Between the two extremes lies the bulk of well-educated boys and girls who forsake the primary school at about 12 and spend four or more years in a secondary school. There are, lastly, some variants to this plan presented by central schools, trade schools, junior technical schools, and the like, but in a cursory view of conditions such as we here attempt we shall leave them out of account. In the paragraphs that follow we shall deal with the special case of the "leavers," in the upper standards of primary schools, concluding with a note on their continued education when they have become wage-earners. Again, as in Chapter IV, we shall not attempt an excursion into psychology, but shall accept the conclusion that these years from 12 to 14 constitute

a time of transition, the pre-adolescent stage as it is sometimes named, in which the practical, assured demeanour of childhood is often laid aside, while with the onset of puberty the youth becomes more decisively subject to emotional forces which introduce a novel sense of relationship with his fellows. This expansion of interest cannot be ignored by the teacher of the humanities, for, in this as in all teaching, success depends upon the sort of mind with which the learner confronts the situation. Is it too much to say that now for the first time this developing creature displays that capacity which can be best described as spiritual? We are, of course, entering on matters of controversy when we introduce the term "spirit" into our discussion: but even the most cautious of teachers and the most materialistic school of philosophy have to admit that the life of "young persons" displays phenomena that can scarcely be described without the use of some such language. If we so choose we may follow a biologist like Bateson and regard these phenomena as transient manifestations of instincts which "may be strongly developed in some, but are permanent in very few individuals. They are apt to

weaken after adolescence, and to disappear as middle age supervenes.”¹ Whether they disappear after the youth has attained to manhood will depend upon the manner in which they are treated during adolescence: the capital point is the admission of their existence. Parents and teachers may condemn the dawning of a spiritual life as an awakening of powers which *should* be ignored for the sake of a smooth passage through middle age; if so they will not concern themselves with history or literature, for humanistic study, first and last, deals with the spirit of man, his aspirations and ideals. Whatever teachers and schools may offer to the youth, he himself will seek to get out of these studies some nourishment for the inner man, intellectually some explanation of behaviour the whence and why and whither; emotionally, something to hold by in terms of love and hate. This is not matter of controversy but of observed fact.

The history of civilization witnesses to the acceptance of this stage in development as designed, above all, for liberal education; for influences, that is, which may free the spirit

¹ *Biological Fact and the Structure of Society* (Herbert Spencer Lecture at Oxford, 1912).

of man. This explains why the tradition of the elders has always given humanities a supreme place in the education of youth : in the " old education " at its best, from the epochs of Jewish and of Greek education right through to the Renaissance, the supreme purpose of schooling was to initiate the adolescent into the literature and history of his race. Childhood to these educators was by comparison of small moment ; the capital time for controlling development was during adolescence, when the youth, eager to play a man's part but all unready for the adventure, was open to imbibe the sentiments of his people and to understand somewhat of their ideals. It has always to be borne in mind, when we try to relate the achievements of education in those earlier times to our present epoch, that the teacher was concerned only with a small minority of the population, and among these mainly with boys. Human nature is the same in the lowliest wage-earner as in the mind of high-born youth, but the present order of society, while admitting in theory that all adolescents should be subject to educational control, is by no means prepared to follow out the admission to its consequences. As

we have seen, any syllabus of history to be of practical service must take separate account of the four classes of scholars whose ways part at the age of 12: our present concern is only with those whose systematic and controlled schooling ceases at 14. We hope that some of them will continue a part-time schooling, which may allow scope for history at the period of life when the educators of former days turned its study to such noble uses. If and when the intentions of the Act of 1918 are realized, it will be possible to plan a complete scheme of study parallel to what the best secondary schools now offer. But the present (1923) outlook for such advance is not bright: it is best to suggest what can be done at this pre-adolescent stage for Standards VI and VII without assuming that the young wage-earner will have further opportunities in any type of day school. The circumstance that a wage-earning career looms ahead in the near future should exercise its influence on the choice of studies: not, however, as giving the curriculum a bias towards technical pursuits, but from the child's own urge (we will still call him a child!) towards acquaintance with the present. He has two

years for further study of the humanities : he has already gone forward into the eighteenth century ; has formed an image of the progress of events both in his own race and in the civilized world up to the time of his grandparents, or at least his great-grandparents. We now invite him to fill in the picture, learning how the world in which he lives has been shaped during the nineteenth century out of that old world, which so largely disappeared when steam and electricity took possession of mankind. Two years are short enough for the task, and I am convinced that our modern epoch should engage the whole attention of these boys and girls in the last two years of their school life. It should be borne in mind, however, that the attention given to history from infancy onwards has paved the way for this interest in present-day politics.

There is, however, one grave difficulty which will be felt even more acutely when we reach the secondary school, so we may as well deal with it at once. The nearer we approach to our own times the more individual is the teacher's opinion about the movement of events. Strive as we will to adopt a neutral attitude, we are not unbiased,

and cannot pretend to be, in our interpretation of men's behaviour during the immediate past, since this past has so close a bearing upon the present. If we are unconcerned, or if we profess a mere academic interest in recent history, our indifference disqualifies us from helping our pupils to a lively interest. In theory the dilemma is insoluble: for the teacher out of school hours is likely to be an active citizen and should play an adequate part in the civic, the religious, the social, the political life of his contemporaries. To propose that active-minded and public-spirited members of the teaching profession should abstain from such activities in order to smooth their scholastic path stultifies their best qualities. There is no danger that teachers will run to excess in such activities, for the arduous claims, in school hours and beyond them, made by an efficient school or college give little opportunity to spend much time in public affairs, especially as there are many claims on a teacher's time for attention to professional organization, apart from the needs of his own school. The problem, however, affects many who never undertake positive duties outside the school walls:

no intelligent man or woman can fail to feel strongly on issues that reach to the foundations of life, to things of the spirit, to the ideals that shape the texture of civilization: he may never attend a public meeting or join a society ; none the less he holds his convictions, and these mould his judgments on recent history, partly on the conscious plane, quite as much in the subconscious trend of temperament and affections. In theory we say this dilemma is insoluble ; in practice a compromise is reached, of the same type as the compromise we all accept when we mingle with our fellows and sink our differences. The teacher goes to his history class with the consciousness that the difficulty abides and that he is under a moral obligation to refrain from propaganda. He agrees, if he is a modest man, that there are two sides to most questions, although in the supreme issues of right and wrong he cannot surrender. He knows, too, that if his young friends are to grow in grace and wisdom through the study of history, they must hear both sides (or rather, shall we say, all sides) and must be left free, so far as conditions permit, to exercise a personal judgment. He therefore cultivates, quite deliberately, a

professional state of mind, acting the part assigned to him as entrusted with the oversight of children's minds. "All the world's a stage." Just as in the society of his church he can worship side by side with men of antagonistic views on politics, and vice versa, so with his colleagues and his pupils at school he can act the appropriate part assigned to him.

Nevertheless, when all is said and done, the difficulty is felt, and it is no wonder that many school teachers prefer to stop their syllabus at the battle of Waterloo. For the movement in the teacher's own mind which leads to uncertainty is paralleled by changes in the general opinion, especially at the present day, when every year seems to throw new light upon the meaning of recent events. We may illustrate best by referring to what is happening abroad. In the United States, for example, up to 1916, the school history-books pictured the behaviour of England and the British Empire in a most unfavourable light: stories are told of the fantastic view taken by American children of the character of English boys and girls, and of the treatment that, in consequence, they meted out to English children who emigrated

to the States and were sent to the public schools. But when America became our ally it was felt that a wrong had unwittingly been done to a good neighbour, so most of these school histories have been subjected to a drastic revision. The same facts are handled but the narrative is coloured by a more generous appreciation of motives. As regards our own country it may be prophesied, without offence, that a similar revision will presently be made in the exposition of European history from 1900 to the present day: the school-books produced under the influence of war's antagonisms are already being looked at askance, for the public opinion which created their atmosphere has been sobered by the subsequent years of peace.

This flux in the public mind should render it easier for the teacher to cultivate a judicial attitude in the presence of his scholars, for his own benefit as well as for theirs. Without making a parade of impartiality or of being superior in feeling or wisdom to his fellow-citizens, he can retain the confidence both of parents and of his colleagues, although when away from school he plays a man's part with the independence of a free citizen. The reform in method which we

discussed in the last chapter helps to relieve this situation : for the teacher can offer the class library to his scholars with confidence that the familiarity they have already acquired in reading will stand them in good stead. He should deliberately throw them upon their own resources : here are pictures, maps, with books of all kinds, histories great and small, biographies, romances and journals ; all around you in the streets you have the statues, the public buildings, the shops, the popular press, all of them signs and emblems of a social life, good and bad, which is your heritage. Each scholar will work to some extent by himself, and will in due course contribute to the common stock. Local history and geography here come into their own since one outstanding feature of the time is the stupendous change in the outward aspect of things. These changes, as shown by local maps and the like, still more by the tales that old men and women can tell of their childhood days, are the significant data : there is also a background of subconscious experiences which fortify in all sorts of hidden ways the impressions made by books and class teaching.

The teacher's part is by no means insig-

nificant, although he will seldom find it necessary to offer a set discourse or to attempt the peculiar process which the text-books of Method used to call "eliciting." There will be no lack of lively argument, for as every year passes the scholars are more ready to sharpen their wits by passing judgment on men and events; but the teacher will not pose as a Socrates who convicts his pupils of folly: he will be content to stand by and bear a hand when these budding historians need his help: he is a real "director" (to use the Montessori title), although he will give little teaching in the hackneyed sense of the term. Above all, he keeps in his own hands the choice of material from which the class secures its knowledge: he forecasts the problems which will engage their attention, and in so doing he accepts the responsibility for guiding their sympathies into channels of which he approves. For example, we referred above (p. 29) to the importance now attached to training the young in citizenship, and we urged that this object should be achieved rather by informing the whole course of humanistic study with a sense of patriotism than by elevating civics or politics or social economics to the rank of a

separate subject. It is easy, however, to neglect topics which lead towards an understanding of civic life unless the teacher includes them in the scholars' reading and invites them to give due attention to such problems.

The Day Continuation School.—Although the pious intentions of the Act of 1918 have not been fulfilled, there are a few thousand "young persons" who pursue a course of continued education mainly in association with factories or workshops. To attempt to indicate a syllabus for these is futile since the variations both in capacity and in experience presented by scholars in different localities are far too great. The scanty time available for study forbids the attempt to handle history, geography, literature as separate subjects in the way that may be appropriate with pupils of like age in a secondary school: the rubric "Humanities" should still serve to cover all the effort available for work with books.

In the great majority of cases these young persons have come from primary schools where they have not enjoyed a course of study such as we advise for Standards VI and VII: so the obvious plan is to supply

the deficiency now. Three or four hours per week, supplemented by what private reading is possible, should at least set these young wage-earners on the right track and give them some explanation of the society to which they belong, some outlook for the future informed by sentiments of social service.

While the syllabus should be taken from the history, literature, geography of the past hundred years, it is evident that its effect on the minds of these young people out "in the world" will be very different from the results we seek for with the same syllabus in Standards VI and VII. At every turn the life which they are leading, in the factory and on the streets, at home or at church, is the projection of what they find recorded in the books they are given to read. Dickens and Carlyle are interpreters; India and Australasia, Germany and Russia are also interpreters. From what we hear of the mentality of these young folk they do not appear in many cases to manifest desires to understand much of the great world outside their immediate ken; for they have lost the docility of the child and appear to resent the offices of their teachers whether in the day

school or in the Sunday school, which has curious analogies with the continuation school. All the more reason for teachers who believe that the spiritual life should be fostered to hold by their faith, to water and dig and sow in this uncongenial soil, knowing that seed-time will, at long last, yield to harvest. The alternative, to abandon liberal studies for the sake of science because it is found that the young employee has a keener sense of values in mechanics or book-keeping, is no remedy, if we accept the psychologist's description of the nature of adolescence. The only compromise that we might admit would be to throw the light of history upon scientific and commercial pursuits, allotting a portion of the humanities syllabus to those aspects of our epoch which explain the evolution of trade and manufacture since the Industrial Revolution.

CHAPTER VII

HISTORY IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

THE secondary school programme has to be subdivided into three periods, concluding roughly at the ages of 14, 16, and 18. The first of these is usually called the junior department, the second takes Matriculation as its objective, and the third undertakes advanced preparation for places of higher education. These objectives necessarily control the scheme of humanistic study: however much we may desire that such study should answer the highest needs of the adolescent, as we have expressed these in Chapter VI, the teacher working in the public system has to conform to requirements. And there is no reason why he should not aim at fulfilling these needs while at the same time meeting the official requirements, if he has the mind to do so. Many teachers are unfortunately led to believe that the pressure of examinations is too heavy to be reconciled

with spiritual freedom. In some cases this may be the case ; but from an extensive experience in these matters I am convinced that the complaint is often exaggerated,¹ especially under present conditions which offer varieties of syllabus unknown to the schemes of Local Examination and Matriculation thirty years ago. It must certainly be admitted that an ideal scheme of organization would enable pupils in accredited schools to be exempt from the requirement to answer sets of printed papers at specified times : one can conceive of methods for testing attainments which would do much to promote the true ends of teaching, and nothing here said is designed to discourage the efforts of reformers.

But the immediate duty of the teacher, in charge of pupils who must be qualified to pass the tests as they now stand, is to reform his own methods so that he can free his scholars from the harmful results which ensue when he overburdens himself and them with the examination. The skilful teacher

¹ I do not deny that an individual teacher, assistant or head, may find grave difficulties, when he has to work in isolation, with colleagues who stand widely apart from him in principle. But any sound progress in school teaching has to overcome this elementary position of sociology.

recognizes the special form of ability tested by a Matriculation paper and takes his pupils into confidence on the matter. These abilities are of two kinds: specific, relating to the special period of history on which questions are set; general, concerned with power of expression, with the distinctive kind of writing demanded by "six questions in three hours," and with power in handling historical matter, i.e. in relating event to event, cause to effect. The first ability is largely an affair of immediate memory: the relevant facts have to be ready for the moment of discharge: they have been accumulating, no doubt, in a vague way for many years, ever since the child first began to read history books; but the special process of retention necessary to answer questions on "the period" is an affair at most of a few months; and a boy or girl of 16 or 17 can undertake this "cram" (if so opprobrious a term should be applied to the situation) with the same conscientious attention that a barrister applies to his brief. In my own practice where the public test fell in July, the examination papers were dismissed from our thoughts until after the Easter holidays: for the ten weeks or so thereafter the teacher

ceased to teach in the larger sense of the word ; he simply directed his scholar's capacity in revision, retention, and expression up to the moment when this highly artificial mode of displaying power was tested for three hours. Such a plan is not only effective in securing " results " ; its chief merit is that it sets free the whole of the intervening school period from the examination incubus. Many teachers, alas, still " believe " in examinations as now conducted : instead of being thankful that the authorities only impose one, or at most two, such tests during a pupil's career, they repeat the experience every year, sometimes indeed every term, copying as closely as possible the machinery of the public test in the false opinion that their pupils are best trained for these public contests by taking as many preliminary canters as can be arranged for several years preceding. They are absolutely wrong : and I can claim to speak with confidence on my record as a trainer in this field. During the short training period which I have indicated—three months or less—such preliminary canters are all to the good. But to imitate the device in the preceding years is simply to *overtrain* :

the pupils are practically handled as budding "Matric. candidates" long before the actual race has to be run: the result is that they grow stale years before the week of trial.

For, as we saw, the ability tested in these audits is general as well as specific, and the more the examinations improve the greater is the skill shown by examiners in distinguishing evidence of general capacity from evidence of cram. A pupil can be trained, for example, to *pass* in Matriculation history by the devices of the crammer; he can never show distinctive *grasp* of history unless the study has been pursued *con amore* for at least two or three years, and unless his power of expression has been given free scope in the allied branches of humanistic study.

So much is necessary to put forward merely from, shall we say, the business standpoint: which is also a very proper business, a duty the teacher owes both to his employers and to the pupil himself. In training himself, under the teacher's guidance, to meet the conditions of such a contest, the pupil comes for the first time to terms with the external world, a world which hereafter, in all sorts of ways, will clip his wings and test his

quality. He, and his teachers with him, have to find the true road of compromise, the method by which they can do justice both to that external world and to their own spirit. We thus relegate the examination problem to its proper sphere and can revert to the main issue: How shall history play its part in the life of youth during these early years of adolescence?

A single principle can be laid down, based on our reference to the psychology of adolescence in the last chapter. The youth is marked off from the child by a new consciousness of himself as a person: history must do its part in aiding him to answer questions about himself, his origin and his destiny, his functions, his friends and his foes; in a word, behaviour has now become to him the problem of problems. At this period of life at least "we live, By admiration, hope, and love." He who wrote these words found sustenance for his youth rather in the mysteries of nature than in the movements of men:

For nature then

To me was all in all. I cannot paint
What then I was. The sounding cataract
Haunted me like a passion: . . .

With other youths expansion blossoms out in other directions: often a chance and apparently trivial incident lays hold of the restless, eager soul and turns its admiration, its hope into a new channel of love. However much we may exalt the sphere of humanism, we are not to say that any large theme of interest, scientific, artistic, or technological, is ruled out of the list of forces which can stir the impulses of adolescence. But this we must keep in mind:—whatever be the agent in this commotion, the purpose, the quest of the youth is always to convert the chosen pursuits to personal ends: he himself, the human being alive to a world of possibilities, takes his chosen study or his out-of-school hobby as an instrument to enlarge his grasp of humanity. It may be chemistry and he may dream of himself as a master in that science; but if his dreams are wisely guided, he will want to know chemistry as an affair of social, interest, of biography, of successive achievements. Chemistry masters may deny this if they please: some will and some will not. It is a fair reply to the sceptics to say that a pupil's liking for chemistry, however great the interest and diligence displayed, has

only touched the fringe of his personality : that a deeper diagnosis of the case would show that the real forces that impel the life of such a pupil strike to deeper levels, and that chemistry has not sounded to the depths just because the teacher, however admirable as a guide to chemistry, refuses to aid the youth in exploring the limits of natural science, so as to make it a means of adolescent education as well as a subject of instruction.

Accepting, then, the revelation and expansion of the self, of personality as the supreme function of education in these plastic years what is the rôle to be assigned to history ? The answer is to hand if we accept also the account of history offered in earlier chapters. The youth is *in* time : one aspect or view of himself is as a product, a point in a series, a becoming out of a past, which on the first blush he is so ready to ignore because the present engages his regard so intensely. History so treated is not so much a subject as a point of view, one way of interpreting things. There are many reasons why things are as they are ; and one reason is that they have been in the past : no doubt an insufficient ground for action, especially in a

scientific age. It remains, however, as a practical ground on which many people act, for their sentiments are bound up with this past : they themselves are indeed a part of it, physically, mentally, spiritually. This conception of things it is the function of history to illuminate. How, then, is the young person to proceed in the development of his studies ? It looks as if the special subject, history as such, may vanish, and the syllabus framer be content to arrange that the historical point of view, the consideration of phenomena as concerned with time, be adequately considered in other studies. To a certain extent we may accept this position, which is practically what happened in the days of the Old Education. There is no study, whether in art, science, or humanities, except perhaps (?) mathematics with its allies in the physical sciences, which fails to appeal to this fundamental category of experience. If all secondary teachers were historians in the true sense of the word, i.e. if they realized in their own valuation of their own specialism the force of history, there would be less ground for instituting, year by year, a separate course of study labelled History. The humanities at least, including now the

separate study of foreign peoples ancient or modern, cannot be handled otherwise than in terms of history. The same, of course, is true of literature, as the art by which our race, to-day as yesterday, has spoken its mind: the art through which, in the main, the rising generation expresses its mind, a racial mind, embodying in its vulgar speech the inheritance of a thousand years; true, again, of geography, which alike in its humanistic and scientific aspects makes a record in time. Geography links on to geology and the other biological sciences, which have little to say to youth if they ignore function; in other words, if they ignore the life process as operating in time.¹

There are two reasons why the curriculum framer cannot be content to exclude history proper. Firstly because the specialist teacher of other branches does not aspire to the heights of his calling: in languages perhaps he is willing to accept responsibility, but both in language and literature he tends to create a new sub-specialism, called history of literature² or history of language, offering

¹ The Joint Matriculation Board still keep the title "Natural History."

² See report on *The Teaching of English in England*, pp. 118, 119.

an outline of academic knowledge which does little to help the youth to understand himself. To attempt, as things now are, to urge the specialist towards sympathy with the historical treatment of his subject would only lead to the insertion of a series of little bits of syllabus cut off from the main thread. And yet when the right point of view is attained the historic temper plays its part, even in studies which are commonly regarded as quite remote. I recollect some lessons on the pressure of the atmosphere,¹ where the teacher (his name is now familiar to many science teachers) read to his class Boyle's description, word for word, of the apparatus which that famous investigator employed and the movements that ensued. Was the time of the boys wasted? On the contrary, the boys secured two benefits: a more vivid apprehension of the law and of its discoverer, with an apprehension, equally vivid though less defined, of the movement of time in the evolution of science. Since, however, the historic aspect of things is so rarely admitted to play its part, we cannot leave the curriculum without some precise and formal study in which history takes the lead.

¹ See *Principles of Class Teaching*, pp. 428-32.

This is a negative reason: the positive reason has already been advanced in Chapter I: history as commonly taught is politics, the life of the people as a whole; and the youth is already awake to the social issues involved in local, national, and even international relationships: or shall we say *half*-awake, for the adolescent on every side of him is only dimly aware of the issues in which he is involved: manhood and womanhood are only in the making. It is through the curriculum that these intimations of a larger whole, in time, in space, in things concrete and in ideals abstract, can be made more precise. The specialist teacher of history comes into his own and claims rank with his colleagues not because the universities can now turn out any number of historians but because the place and function of politics (giving this term a large and generous scope) are of immense importance to mankind, and the youth is already one of "the people" ready to learn how to live in community. The study can justifiably be called history because time-values, the movement of events in succession, are so indispensable as a guide to that public life which we call citizenship. We need

not repeat what has been advanced in Chapter II: the teacher, whether a class teacher in a primary school or a specialist in a secondary school, does not pose as a civic missionary, but his justification for intrusion into the child's life rests upon his belief that the historic habit of mind is the principal basis on which civic devotion can be cultivated.

We are now ready to come to close quarters with the syllabus, and must notice first how far the prescriptions of the authorities, Board of Education and Matriculation Boards, limit the teacher's freedom. Although the present scheme of Matriculation examinations does not rank history as a compulsory study, the position it occupies therein, combined with the regulations of the Board of Education, make it necessary to give serious attention to the study. Nor are regulations necessary to enforce such attention since general opinion stands behind them. The influence of the regulations is felt not so much in strengthening the hold of history on secondary-school pupils as in limiting its range. Briefly the rule amounts to this: pupils from 14 to 16 need not follow an officially ap-

proved syllabus in history at all if they offer English literature, but if they do elect for history they make their choice between some half-dozen periods. Apart from Matriculation, the influence of the Board of Education, extending over the junior department as well as over the years 14 to 16, ensures that English history in particular shall not be neglected. In the highest forms, when Matriculation has been surmounted, careful rubrics are inserted for those who go ahead in history, since these select few are the special protégés of the university. Leaving these last on one side, there seems to be no unreasonable restriction on freedom. So long as the pupils spend an adequate time on history, and a part of this time on English history, their teachers may choose, so far as public regulations are concerned, a variety of courses on which to direct their efforts. In Chapter IV we suggested a programme for humanistic studies in childhood not designed to prepare pupils for its sequel in the secondary school, but answering solely to the present needs of the child. If, however, the programme we propose were universal and if the secondary teacher could assume that his junior de-

partment as a whole had enjoyed such an experience, his task would be simplified. But this is not the case, nor should we wish that the life of the primary school should be regimented to such an extent. In entering the secondary school the pupil starts on a new career: what was a terminus in his former school has become a starting-point. A new plan of operations has to be devised which can only assume that the entrants to the school have in vague outline got their bearings in history, i.e. in conceptions and interests relating to the movement of events. Some will have already made headway: they will be keen to read good books, definite in much of their information, quick to express themselves in speech and writing. Others may be backward and will afford their teachers more opportunity, since their need is greater.

Hence the syllabus that we proposed in Chapter VI is out of place, for it is offered as a terminus to the primary school course. At some time or other during the pupil's school career, secondary or college, he should certainly be introduced to the nineteenth century; but the grounds on which we proposed such a syllabus, for Standards VI and

VII and for the day continuation school, do not hold in the situation now before us. For a distinctive mark of the experience to be enjoyed in the secondary school is that the pupil for some years is to be kept *out* of the world: for good or evil he is to remain *in statu pupillari*; the stimulus, therefore, to curiosity and activity which we postulated in the case of his contemporaries who do not proceed to secondary education cannot be presumed. True he lives in the same civic community: the home circle, with its fringe of interests in town, in church, in industry are about him; but his mind is not directed into channels which will make such interests tell in a course of study. His new school by its own motion forms a novel centre of attraction, with its syllabus, each part of which sets out on a fresh venture, and its corporate life, which transforms the senior scholar of the former school into a beginner feeling his way into a strange environment.

The proper place for recent history, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in the secondary school is in the last year or two of school life, i.e. in those forms in which the

majority of the pupils are "leavers." This plan follows the principle on which we allotted the study to Standards VI and VII in the primary school. It will often involve submitting the period as a Matriculation subject, and regulations present no hindrance thereto.

What, then, should be substituted at the outset of the secondary school by way of laying a new foundation for entry on a new stage of life? We bear in mind that the scholars are still children: for a couple of years they are in a junior department where their mental attitude still displays the qualities that we noticed in Chapter IV. Their outlook towards history will, therefore, still be a practical one: they will be ready to collect and classify, taking out of their materials the superficial data of names, maps, time-charts; while the deeper current of interest will still be in the sheer movement and flow of events rather than in those intimate and personal relations which we have labelled "spiritual." Is there any period or epoch which can be marked out as specially adapted for the junior department? I confess to be unable to discern any. The distinction we must make is not between

one epoch and another, but between topics of varying difficulty. Constitutional and religious history are to be postponed whether they are presented with Simon de Montfort or Cromwell. But if we attempt to plan a four or six years' course in which the same epochs are revised, omitting difficult problems in earlier years and inserting them in later years, we land ourselves in trouble, for nothing is more calculated to create distaste for the study than a constant repetition of historical periods. The concentric plan for a history syllabus was at one time popular, but it is now discredited (see p. 55 above). My belief is that the junior department should set itself to a task which appears formidable, but is congenial to the disposition of these young folk, viz. to elaborate a scheme of time, a visible record of the whole flow of human affairs from the earliest epochs to the present day. Let me say at once that I have not made the experiment in any school: when it was my duty twenty years ago with colleagues to plan a secondary school syllabus we had the idea of this broad review in our minds, but we did not go so far as I should now be prepared to go if I had

the job to do again.¹ Such a scheme would require the teacher to have abundant paper at his disposal, along with pictures, large and small, with which to illustrate the time-charts; it would be useless and even pernicious if these were treated in a mechanical spirit appealing directly to effort of memory and dispensing with the collecting activities of the scholars. An essential for success would be that the scholars would themselves be aware of the aim to be pursued, so as to embark on their task with the zest of personal achievement. The record might be carried down to the present day, so far as the pupils, in their intercourse with the world, have come into touch with recent affairs, but no effort would be made to emphasize modern at the expense of ancient history. For one chief aim of the pursuit is to give an impression of intervals, stretching right away into the remote past and linking old with new.

How far back into the past are we to go? History has now been invaded by anthropology: we have already noted how appropri-

¹ It may well be that plans of this kind have been worked out by enterprising teachers and published, but I have not come across any. The bridge-heads described by Miss Madeley are something like it when linked up with time-charts.

ate it is for the little child to be introduced to *Days before History*, and we ought to have no hesitation in including prehistoric man in the programme. Whether or no we include it, the populace outside the school walls are regaled with travesties of science and history like *Tarzan of the Apes*: boys and girls of 12 read such trash and enjoy the novelty of the adventures. If we go back far enough we reach a point where history yields to science. The latest time-chart published for popular use¹ is entitled *The World-Story of 3,000,000,000 (?) Years*; out of a total of forty-five columns it allots five to a world devoid of life, fifteen more to periods before man appeared, and another twenty to epochs before the dawn of civilization. Such a combination of biology, anthropology, and history is obviously quite beyond the range of children, although it might well engage the attention of young men and women of 18 (see below). At both ends of this chart of time we must be content to omit a great deal, leaving much for future years to fill in, both in the body of the structure and at its extremities.

It is of more concern to consider how the

¹ By J. H. Reeves (P. S. King & Son, 1922).

structure can be gradually pieced together without becoming more than an exercise in ingenuity, a shell lacking flesh and blood. We remind ourselves, therefore, that these children, as we found them in Chapters IV and V, are eager to plunge into the picturesque elements of story wherever they lay their hands on it. They have also reached an age when, if so disposed, they will plunge into big books. Such boys and girls will be in contact with many books at home: books good and bad, silly school tales jostling with Mee's *Encyclopædia* and the *Outline of Science*. These same children at school are often fobbed off with a "reader" of which they are to "prepare," as we say, six pages once a week! Evidently the teacher's problem is to direct the reading, giving point and organization to what otherwise would be desultory, and withal helping to form sound taste: for we are still unable to keep history and literature in water-tight compartments.

Let us take an example. Suppose that for one of the two years the class is occupied with Elizabethan England. Scott's *Kenilworth*, Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, can be read in detail with Hakluyt, Raleigh, Spenser, to

mention only one or two of the great books also at hand. Scott as a tale-bearer has been ousted by Stevenson and Conan Doyle, but as a book to be studied in detail he is unrivalled. So far as historical knowledge goes the principal interest is the sixteenth century, but the actors on that stage were scholars and travellers inspired by a Renaissance which takes the reader back to antiquity, and helps him to enlarge the time-chart, linking new to old : takes him also to Europe and the Indies, with the weird maps of which every schoolboy ought to see some examples. Alternatively, we might choose England and Europe from 1760 to 1820 with Goldsmith, Thackeray, and the rest, or the Mediæval Age with Chaucer, and with Shakespeare again. I say alternatively, because I see no argument that makes it necessary at this stage for the pupil to study any one of the three : still less for him to learn up the details of the intervening periods. What is omitted now will likely enough be supplied in the Matriculation course : if not, I venture to say that no great loss is sustained. It is a fallacy to suppose that the grown man is to be regarded as uneducated because he has missed acquaintance with the Bill of Rights or the

battle of Lewes. Just as the teacher of biology is content that his pupils shall be familiar with a few types, whose characters give the clue to the behaviour of a thousand other forms in nature, so the teacher of history must be content to let his pupils be absorbed for a time in some great epoch wherein they can hold the mirror up to (human) nature.

If one year out of the two is spent in this way, the other year need not be allotted to any specified epoch in English history. A term might well be spent (see p. 62 above) on the locality, getting the distinctive point of view that comes from attending closely for a time to what the neighbourhood has to offer. There would be great advantage in taking local history and geography for the first term in the secondary school course. For the rest, the world is wide and the teacher is free. A few weeks with Abraham and the East ; a few weeks with the Arabs and the Crusaders ; with Columbus, Cortes, and Pizarro. Or some of the topics which are alluded to as the "history of" can quite legitimately be entered in the syllabus : the one condition being that they are pursued with sufficient intensity to absorb the pupils'

activity for at least some weeks. One or more of the great industrial occupations are in place: iron, coal, cotton, shipping; still better, agriculture with its intimate bearings on civilization. Each of these begins in the remote past and brings the learner up to the present; each can be so envisaged as to show the relation between the universal and the particular; some of them provide elements of poetry and drama as well as of useful information. Or, finally, the time-chart could be closely associated in a term's study of the changing map of Europe, from Charlemagne to Napoleon: one might even venture forward to the Treaty of Versailles; a study of maps might embrace the whole world, beginning with the early cartographers and finishing with the Antarctic.

These discursive journeys up and down the earth are to be held in some sort of unity by attention to the extending chart of the centuries: and herewith the need is felt for bringing into prominence the few great events and great men who stand out in the long descent of time. Miss Madeley calls them *bridge-heads*, and rightly points out that they need not be erected in chronological order: they are not learnt as a list but come out of

the various studies term by term. She offers examples of bridge-heads used for children from 8 to 10, but I imagine that they are more in place from 12 to 14. They serve, like the headlands in a sweeping landscape, to help the mind to survey the current as it flows from bridge to bridge.

On leaving the junior department the problem of syllabus is simplified. Matriculation looms in the middle distance, and although detailed preparation for it should be deferred, the range of prescribed subject-matter must now be adhered to. In method, however, the class can still have their liberty. They should at once have put into their hands a book containing summaries, dates, historical maps, and the like, which are as necessary here as are test-tubes and reagents in the laboratory. But they do not begin by learning these. Let us take as an example the prescription of the Joint Matriculation Board (Syllabus, p. 19) in European history, 1756-1904. The items set down make a formidable list, but youth is vigorous and acquisitive. The class should be given straight away to read half a dozen well-written books in which some of the leading figures are portrayed: Chatham, Burke, Napoleon, Florence Night-

ingale, Gambetta occur to one offhand. Every pupil may not read them all, at least at the same time, for the age is now reached at which the Dalton Plan is most effective : the rhythm of isolated effort and of co-operative teaching can be allowed full sway. The next term perhaps the poets will have their turn : Byron and his contemporaries studied in literature hours, if these are controlled separately by a literature specialist, will illuminate many items of the syllabus. It is only in the Matriculation year itself that a compendious text-book, written to order, need be introduced, even if then, so as to bring the whole story into systematic shape.

After matriculation the secondary school has two functions to discharge: the specialists who take Advanced Courses are ready to stand on their own feet. They can take, for example, the Documents which Messrs. Keatinge and Frazer offer them and begin, with some consciousness of power, to relate cause and effect. If literature has done its work with them they will be prepared both to set down their own ideas with advancing power in expression and to enjoy with conscious appreciation the style of the great makers of books, both in poetry and prose.

Their comrades in the Sixth to whom conventional history is no longer a school subject should not, however, be regarded as outside the pale. All alike, specialists in history and specialists in other pursuits, are still in search for answers to those significant questions which engage the spirit of youth. Bridge-heads, time-charts, and maps have served to put into concrete shape the story of human purpose and of spiritual ideals; and they are now ready to build on that foundation. It is certainly a neglect of opportunity if the school does nothing through its curriculum to help these gifted pupils forward in their search. Here and there one finds evidence that pupils as well as teachers are conscious of their need: when boys at Repton issued *A Public School looks at the World* they were speaking on behalf of thousands of their contemporaries who shared such desires without expressing them; but to elaborate this theme would require another volume. It may suffice to note three points: (1) If the earlier studies in history have not dealt with recent times, the gap should now be made good. The difficulties in treatment which we faced in Chapter VI will be increased, for these young

persons are now at a stage when their social conscience and their personal judgment are quick to see the bearings of events : and if their interest is thoroughly aroused they may easily, and quite pardonably, be led into extravagance. (2) If their earlier studies have only dealt fragmentarily with foreign countries and civilizations they should now be given the chance to take a wide perspective of world history. (3) With advancing years the scope and meaning of history can be extended and unified by association with time-values in other branches of learning, especially with biology and physics. The bold incursion into history by Mr. H. G. Wells has received but a cold welcome from professional historians. I do not venture an opinion as to how far his treatment is sound, but no one can question that the public mind has become alive to the need for a unification of knowledge in terms of evolution, whatever be the precise definition we give to that question-begging term : and the select group of scholars at the top of our secondary schools are not immune from the influences that shape this demand. In this as in all the great questions of experience, if the school cannot help the adolescent he

will help himself as best he may. Reduced to practical terms, we urge that the pupil's notions of time, as expressed in quantities, should be unified by the aid of the geologist, to whom "a thousand years are but as yesterday," at the one extreme, and the physicist, who divides a second into a thousand portions, at the other. It may well be granted that time-values are not the only channel through which experience can be unified: geography is equally in need of enlargement, carrying the mind in space from the majesty of an infinite universe to the infinitely small operations of the lowest forms of life. All we ask for is that some recognition should be made of the change in inner mental attitude—the scepticism, if we like so to term it—that is witnessed in all young people as they pass from the earlier to the later years of adolescence.¹ We put the suggestion as concerned with time-values only because the historian deals more than his fellow-scholars with men's employment in time: for the scholar himself time-values, the paradox between the temporal and the eternal, the finite and the infinite, constitute only one and not the most

¹ See, e.g., Slaughter, *The Adolescent*.

important riddle of existence. Whatever subject the teacher handles, mathematics, science, languages, his pupils, if their imagination is aroused, will welcome the teacher's aid in expanding the range of specialist study beyond the confines of a syllabus.

CHAPTER VIII

HISTORY AND THE ADULT MIND : THE HISTORIAN AS PHILOSOPHER

THE conception we now entertain of adult education is a product of the nineteenth century : beginning with mechanics' institutes and working-men's colleges, the idea blossomed, with the help of the universities, into Extension Courses, and finally into the W.E.A. and the rival institutions run by "independent" labour colleges. The field opens out with every decade : an Institute for Adult Education is now maintained in order to place these efforts on a par in public esteem with other branches of the organized system of education. It would be a mistake, however, to confine our regard to these highly developed plans for formal study. The adult stands on his own feet ; men and women of inquiring mind who find pleasure in books and in speech will proceed with their education, whether or

no they attend classes. Those who frequent courses are few ; those who procure their own intellectual food are a far more numerous company.

Now to both of these groups history makes its appeal. The consciousness of relations between past and present has now become, as adult years are attained, a familiar mode of thinking : a man may be illiterate, may never open a book or listen to a discourse, but he has grown up in a civilization which uses past events to throw light on the present. The dullest mind in our epoch has some apprehension of growth and change in terms of time and space ; and the more intelligent, although they may never realize their need for development, i.e. for deliberate effort at further education, display their intelligence by using the same *type* of judgment that is required for elaborate historical study.

It is important to notice the advance that the mind makes when passing from the early years of adolescence to the more mature outlook of the grown man. If his development be not arrested he will continue that search into the unknown which we regard as a quality of youth in contrast to childhood,

but the quest will be pursued with more equanimity: limitations will be recognized. The man, when youth is left behind him, feels himself to be more assured: he may be modest by disposition, nevertheless his standards of value, his appreciations of worth, are relatively stable. If, therefore, he turns to history he is likely to have some deliberate purpose before him. (No doubt there are some people to whom this does not apply: they seem to have a vague notion that self-culture is a duty, and they will attend lectures, on history or any other subject of discourse, expecting that somehow the experience will improve them. Such ineffective types can, however, be left out of account.) He will expect to get from the historian some helpful view of the world: however charming or even thrilling the narrative, he will look to see a relation between cause and effect. The average layman, as distinguished from the teacher or the professional historian, reads a biography or goes to a work of history with some such purpose in his mind. We are told by the organizers of adult education that formal political history is not popular, but that students are eager to hear about the "history of" economics or

the "history of" religion or the "history of" international relations. In other words, they are puzzled about the *rationale* of some large province of their experience and turn to the historical method for enlightenment: speaking in terms of faculty we say they are ready to cultivate the historical habit of mind: not because they want the faculty for its own sake, but because it may serve a purpose. The effort they here make at an elementary stage is the same in kind as the mental activity of the greatest thinkers—for religion, economics, international relations are all matters of history—and he who seeks to expound them solely as matters of abstract truth is certain to miss his way.

These vague desires to put historical knowledge to use make it necessary for us to re-examine our definition of history. In the first chapter we glanced back over the course by which this study has grown from the days when Herodotus wrote his travellers' tales to recent centuries which have witnessed the expansion of historical method and research as one of the great cults in the temple of learning. But in these last days a further step is being taken: the old problems of the philosopher are being restated,

and, with the fresh light thrown upon human origins by the researches both of the anthropologist and of the physicist, men inquire once more as to the realities of experience. Among other inquiries they seek to explain the relation between now and yesterday, between that elusive moment which we call the present and the events, recent or remote, which we call the past. Now this small volume is not the place for a sketch of the course which these inquiries have followed, even if I had capacity to undertake the task ; and yet we must see at any rate their bearings, for they have a direct relation to the value of historical studies among adults. Children and young persons take what is provided for them, in schooling as in other things: the adult has, so to speak, come to himself ; when he turns his mind to study he will only find profit in history if he is helped thereby to wisdom as well as to knowledge.

By way of illustration let us summarize the concept of history as expounded by Croce:¹ " I walk through a country churchyard and read the inscriptions graven on the tombstones. Here I seem to have in its simplest

¹ H. Wildon Carr, *The Philosophy of Benedetto Croce*, chap. xi.

form the popular distinction between the independent *matter* which history is concerned with and the external *form* which history assumes. The bare record is the history, the individual life to which the inscription refers (and of which but for the record there is no history) is the matter. But the bare records are not history, they are documents for the historian, and guide him to the history ; and the events they record have no self-subsistence, they are only historical to the extent the mind can enter them and think them as belonging to concrete universal life. To be historical is not to be reproduced in a truthful record which reflects as in a mirror or preserves as a photograph the scene enacted, it is to enter integrally into the actual universal life which is reality. Our language, too, preserves this meaning, as when we speak of an historical personage." The maker of the record is, in Croce's vocabulary, a historiographer : if the writer is also a historian, he becomes a philosopher, for "History presents to us life or mind in its reality, and therefore history and philosophy are in their essence identical." For "to the philosopher history is present existence and

universal history is to reality what to each individual his own particular history is to the reality he names self. . . . Our mind is not something outside its history. *We are what we have been, our history is our reality.* The truth of this is hidden from us, however, in life, and we are the subjects of a persistent illusion. . . . Reality seems to us an existing present which has succeeded a non-existing past, a past which did exist but does not exist, and which is confronted by a future which will exist but does not now exist. . . . Past, present, and future are, however, necessary parts of every actual activity, or change, or process, or life. The past is acted, it is in that sense unalterable, but its determination is the present in which it acts. The past is an absolutely essential part of the present in the sense that cut off from it the present loses all meaning and content. The future is equally essential, it is the yet undetermined, the actual possibility, which is a necessary part of the concept of every present process or change." These are the terms in which Mr. Wildon Carr restates Croce's theory of history; to grasp their full import we should need to survey his whole doctrine of reality.

“ This full concrete reality of actual life is conceived by us either statically in art or dynamically in history.”

Along with Croce we might have made use of Bergson's *Matter and Memory*, or turned to the pragmatists, among whom John Dewey has taken, as we saw above, a quite distinctive position as regards the approach to history in the minds of children. No doubt these thinkers differ from each other, but we need not trespass into the technique of philosophic discussion ; what seems clear is that a general trend of ideas is becoming widely current which is already operating, even if subconsciously, far beyond the philosopher's study. Such books as Marvin's *The Living Past* and Graham Wallas's *Our Social Heritage* illustrate the trend of the movement : indeed, my own attempt at writing a history of English education¹ was obviously guided by these ideas, although I was certainly not conscious of being influenced by the little I knew of recent philosophy. When Wildon Carr says : “ We are what we have been, our history is our reality,” he is surely in line with writers who emphasize *social heredity* as the clue to our interest in historical study.

¹ *The Children of England*, 1923.

For we turn to history in order to understand ourselves: being possessed of memory and of intelligence we use these powers, either unconsciously or by design, so that we can come to terms with ourselves and with our generation. By the revelation of his own past the adult not only satisfies his impulses of curiosity, he realizes the possibilities of change in a future which is one with the past.

We may anticipate, therefore, that the place of history and its method of exposition in adult education will be modified: the teacher will seek to give what the learner is in search of; on the one hand the province or range of history will be enlarged, for the historical standpoint will be recognized as necessary to the handling of every branch of knowledge. As we saw in earlier chapters, the man of science, so soon as he becomes a thinker, turns to history, and exemplifies Croce's dictum that philosophy and history are identical. One might even forecast that history will save its life by losing it: that the schools or departments of history as separate disciplines may disappear in face of a demand that every branch of inquiry be treated in the method of the historian. As

a matter of fact this extension has already been effected—avowedly so in literature, where the exponent or professor cannot draw any clear line that delimits his province from that of the historian. In the so-called social sciences—in economics, for example, and politics—the historical method has been to the fore ever since Adam Smith wrote a treatise which combined the researches of a historian with the wisdom and the follies of a philosopher.

On the other hand, the historian will be compelled to come out into the open and confess that he is thinker and philosopher as well as historiographer. Just as in the biological sciences physiology has followed anatomy and morphology, so in humanistic studies the historian will interpret the past in terms of purpose, instead of pretending any longer that he is merely a recorder or a teller of tales. We have so far treated adult education as a concern of the thoughtful public, a few of whom attend courses of lectures or join tutorial classes, while the majority pursue their own development by reading books. For all such students it seems clear that the value of history can scarcely be over-estimated, if we admit the

position taken in the previous paragraph as to the relation between the past as revealed by history and the life of the student himself as exhibiting at the present moment the effects of that past. He who offers instruction to busy workers can only meet their need by becoming historian as well as thinker: whatever be the title of his discourse, whether he calls himself teacher of science, of art, or of history proper, the questions he has to answer are concerned with human purpose; the very language in which he clothes his discourse brings present and past into relation. He deals with phenomena that are on the way, parts of a unity which goes beyond the abstraction of a scientific scheme and seeks to illuminate the meaning and method of life.

These, however, are only one group among the adults who pursue higher education. They are concerned solely with liberal education, i.e. with the pursuit of knowledge, whether it be historical or scientific, as a means to intellectual freedom. But there are other groups of adults whose relation to history is more specific; we can distinguish at least three.

(a) *History as an element in Vocational*

Training.—We have already noted how increasingly aware professional men have become that the history of their employment is important. As new habits of mind are spread abroad, equipping educated men in all walks of life with a more vivid consciousness of their own structure, their own body-mind, we may be sure that the historical aspect of trades and professions will play a larger part in apprenticeship and in technology than they have hitherto done. The clergy and the lawyers have always been in close alliance with the historian: the Christian religion might well be exhibited as a cardinal example of that union of philosophy and history which Croce exalts, although he himself holds no quarter with orthodox faith.

One would think that the law at least gave due weight to history, and certainly, so far as documents and records are concerned, our men of law are sufficiently furnished. Legal proceedings, however, offer a fine illustration of the contrast between history as mere learning and the historical mind which takes the past into the present. The case of *Art O'Brien v. the Crown* which is now (1923) before the public offers a

piquant example. To the lawyer who is merely legal, Habeas Corpus, 1679, is a record of facts, succeeded by later records of police proceedings and legal decisions since that date ; but to a lawyer who is also historian and thinker, as to any Englishman who treasures political liberty, Habeas Corpus is a continuous fact, a present experience and a hope for the future. The Act itself and the subsequent decisions are but symbols, witnesses to a common intelligence which overrides the dates of statutes or the boundaries of prison walls. However eminent may be the advisers to the Crown who deprive a man of liberty in these realms, their knowledge of history is defective if they fail to share the mind of their fellow-countrymen who cherish their national history as a very present help in time of trouble. Magna Charta, Bills of Rights, and the like are in one sense dead matter, but in a deeper and truer sense they are with us still, part of a national consciousness, of a social heredity, of the stuff of which Englishmen are made.

While in these vocations the place of history is unquestioned, whatever errors may be discerned in its exposition, there are many others in which at present the

intelligence of the student is only casually fostered by reverting to the past: the instructor, for example, in engineering assists his pupil towards an abstract and systematic view of the behaviour of mechanical forces, and this is indispensable; the pupil himself, however, is a changing mind which has grown from infancy to the moment where he now stands, finding order and method in the course of nature. This is his history as a thinker in mechanics, and what he as an *individual* has experienced should be, and can be, illuminated by tracing the general and *universal* narrative, by following the course along which the apprehension of these matters has become common property. For the mechanics which he pursues abides nowhere but in the mind of man, and a man's mind is the product of history. I am not proposing that a syllabus of technical history should be added to the technical course of training, for there are few instructors who possess the qualifications necessary to unite the two; the instructor himself has been trained to an understanding of engineering solely by abstract handling of phenomena: his intuitive apprehension of the way by which things have arrived

has lain in the background of consciousness. Before he can help his pupils to think in terms of history he must acquire the mental technique by which such thinking is facilitated.

(b) *History as a special cult in Universities.*
—The need for such a technique seems to offer the true line of defence for retaining history as a “subject,” as a separate cult in our seats of learning. Hitherto the historians have concerned themselves chiefly with politics, or with those great concerns in life to which we have referred, such as religion and law ; but there is nothing in the nature of things which justifies this restriction. The historian is distinguished from other men simply by the fact that he has been trained to select, to record, to interpret past events : in whatever region of human activity the events may lie, no matter : his *métier* is to show us how to get at them, how to present them in accessible form ; above all, how to put meaning into them in a relation to the present of which he makes us aware. A trained historian will take in hand the student of any other subject and put him in the way of getting at its history : he can show him how to find the records

and how to read them : how to discard the irrelevant and to analyse the significant. This we say is a technique, analogous to the technique of the laboratory, where materials and forces are handled in terms of space and of quantity as well as of time, but very different in method, although both historian and scientist are in pursuit of truth, and of truths of a like kind.¹

There is no doubt a dilemma involved in this position : the historian *in vacuo*, who has no interest in affairs but only an interest in documents, cannot put meaning into *any* subject. Some writers of political history disdain to be labelled as politicians, but if they disavow their duties as citizens they are blind leaders of the blind. So when we present the historian as a technician who can help *any* student to the history of *any* field of endeavour, we give him a rôle from which he may shrink : the historian of plumbing should be a bit of a plumber ; the historian of economics is ill equipped if he cannot keep accounts. This is an infirmity, however, from which no one can escape who presumes to instruct his fellows : the technique of scientific training, the tech-

¹ See F. C. S. Schiller in *Mind*, October 1922.

nique of administration are beset with the same snare. The "scientific man" trained in the laboratory may be as deficient in all sound scientific insight as "the history man" may be in a sense of the past, or as "the practical man" when confronted with a novel crisis in affairs. Each of them must learn his technique, and he can only learn it in the narrowing environment of some distinctive field: if his acquirement of the technique is to be of service in other fields, remote from the special province that he has selected, he can only render such service as he widens his sympathies and seeks experience in a new situation. The one clear point is that in the advance towards specialization, which is an outstanding feature of modern studies, there has arisen a distinctive technique or equipment which we may call historical capacity, or if we like, historiography; and that the university, as the common ground where all technique should be united in research, cannot dispense with the service of the historical specialist any more than it can dispense with the mathematician or the philosopher. Each of these cultivates a technique, and helps his fellows, who cannot pretend to a mastery of his technique, to be a little of a

mathematician and a little of a philosopher, since both mathematics and philosophy—and history—are necessary to an understanding of life. And while we thus reserve a special niche in the temple of learning for history as such, we look at the same time for a diffusion of the historical method throughout the whole edifice.

(c) *History for the school teacher.*—The pursuit of culture by teachers has to be distinguished from the same quest as witnessed in other vocations, and also as witnessed in universities. The school teacher appears as a middleman, getting his supplies from the men of learning and dispensing these, in small parcels, to the young: we call this the diffusion of knowledge, and the conventional mode by which the teacher is equipped for the task is to load him up with as much learning as he can carry and then to “train” him in pedagogic exercises which explain how the diffusion process can be arranged. These exercises are necessary, and in the earlier chapters of this book we have sought for principles which may guide us when engaged with young people so that history may contribute its share to their development.

And yet, however important it be that a

teacher should discharge his office efficiently, it seems to be still more important that he should be a man rather than a conduit pipe. Or, shall we say, that the weight of his learning, whether academic or professional, is just a burden, oppressive first to himself and thereafter to his pupils, a burden which makes him inefficient unless he knows how to drop it. In other words, history, like philosophy or mathematics or art, is what used to be called a discipline, what we now see to be an avenue through which humanity is revealed. From this standpoint it seems to be a small matter whether the teacher-in-training specialize in one epoch of history or another ; for any epoch if studied under competent guidance will give him the technique of the historiographer. What he learns by way of historical facts may be forgotten if he has acquired the power of getting at new facts as he may need them in the pursuit of his vocation. He does not need to have the facts "at his fingers' ends": he has to be a scholar rather than a man of learning, a student by taste, ready and even eager to master any field of history as occasion requires. For if history has done its work with him, he will have found

its value as one of the keys by which his own individuality and the mysteries also of the universal life are unlocked.

His function in the social order makes it necessary that he, above all others, should pursue this search for a better understanding of reality. He is charged with the oversight of young people's minds: all that he can acquire by way of learning ought to enlighten him so that he may trace with truer insight the path by which the child grows up to be an adult.¹ If the history he learns in his training college promotes that end it has served him well; otherwise it cumburs the ground.

Considerations of this kind lead one to urge that the training course for teachers should give a large place to universal history. We have already noted that some such demand is felt in the secondary schools, and if the would-be teacher comes to his college or his university already equipped with history in this sense, backed by earlier interests such as we have outlined in Chapters V and VI, it may not be necessary for the training college syllabus to include general history. What is even more important is that every

¹ Compare Dewey, *The School and the Child*, First Essay.

part of the syllabus, every teacher on the staff, should be possessed with the spirit of history, should exhibit all the themes of study in the light of evolution.

It may be right to require that among the lecturers of the training college there should be some one person who plays the part of historian ; but if I had a voice in the control of these arrangements I should deprecate any attempt to load up the students with the details of a compulsory syllabus, tested by three-hour examination papers ; still less would I attempt through such specialism to fence off history from the general intellectual life of the community. When once I were satisfied that the staff as a whole were scholars, I would leave them to work out their own salvation, for the free intercourse of students with their instructors is more likely to lead to wisdom where authority restrains its hand.

We have now traced in outline the changes of outlook towards history that are witnessed as the human mind develops from infancy to the settled shape of adult activity. Men and women are adults at twenty-three, but they are not complete, and a final survey of the relations between a developing life over

against the claims of history or philosophy would be a fascinating theme for research. It has been suggested by the poets : " Grow old along with me," said Browning ; " Youth knows but half." If history fulfils its final mission it teaches a man to expect fresh revelation as the years advance : the worst charge that can be levied against our academies is that their pupils are turned out far too often with the conceit that they have finished.

But these chapters do not extend beyond the range of " schools and colleges." If school and college have rightly discharged their task, the pupil leaves his studies with a confidence that the past which he has inherited, which he has begun to investigate, will continue to aid his understanding of the undetermined future. He may make many plans and conceive varied ambitions, but the one purpose which will never forsake him is to achieve further development ; one article of his creed, founded on the lessons of history, will be a conviction that if he remains a student he will become more of a man.

EPILOGUE

THE EUROPEAN CRISIS (1923)

I HAVE endeavoured in this book to write about history in its most general aspect: although the examples chosen to support the thesis are taken from the situation in our own country and our own time, the arguments and definitions themselves should apply to any country and to any civilisation. Now, if I had been writing before 1914, the chapters could have ended thus, both author and readers content to apply the principles according to their discretion.

We are, however, passing through an unexampled crisis: few thoughtful people now dispute that the upheaval in economic security, combined with the heightened passions of jealousy and hatred between nations, threatens to continue that tempest of destruction which the war let loose. These threats may not appal us; on the contrary, they may serve to brace our

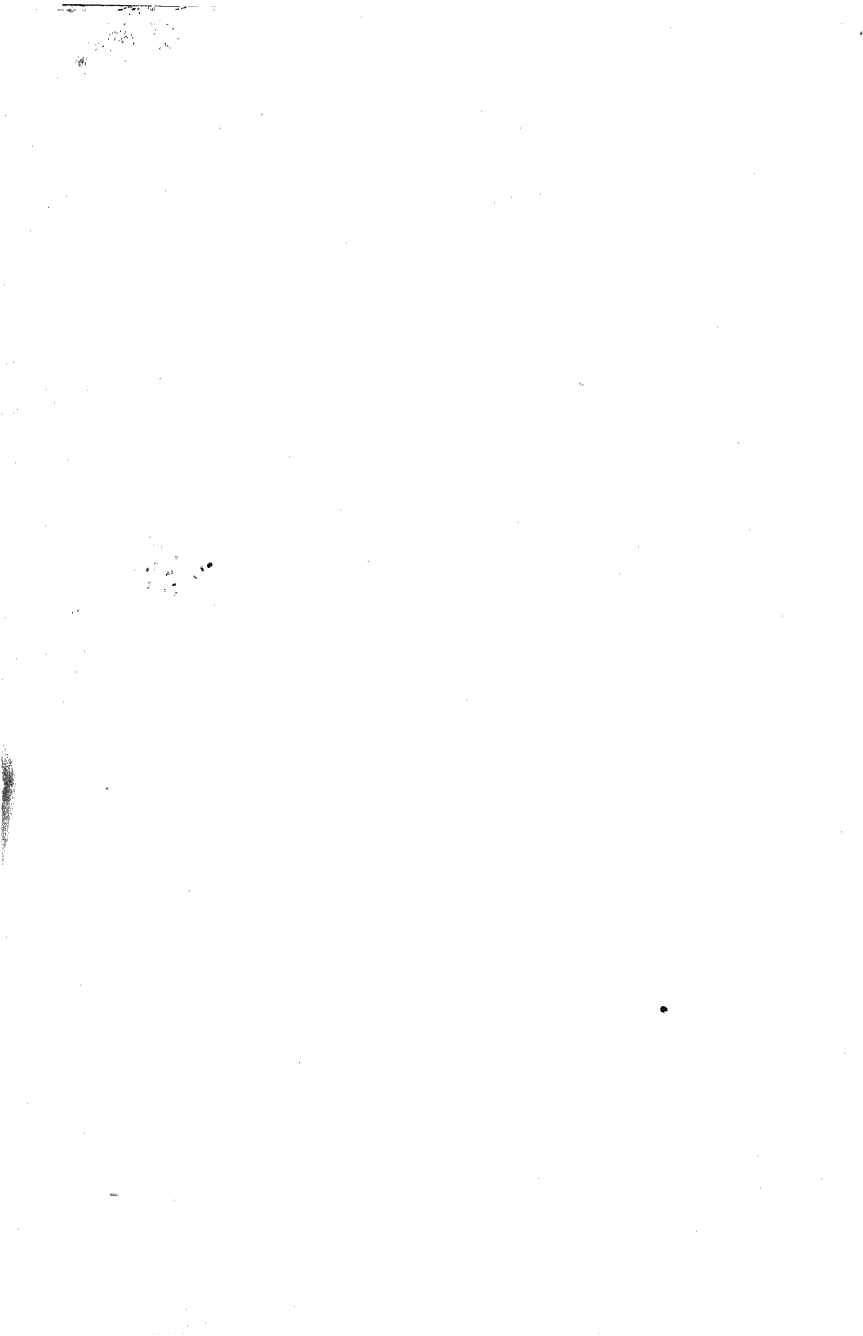
courage. We cannot, however, ignore them, even when considering the sequestered operations of the class-room and the library. The historian, scholar or teacher, can scarcely sit unmoved when the ground beneath him rocks to the foundations, for our study of the function of history has shown how closely the affairs of the historian and the politician are united.

I do not, however, think it necessary to add more than a word to what I have set down in Chapter VI on the part to be played by a man who is teacher at one moment *in* his school and citizen at the next moment *out* of school. If what is there put forward is sound doctrine, now is the time for its worth to be tested! Now, if ever, the teacher with his pupils must get at the facts and train himself by assiduous study to survey all the facts. The positive change in syllabus that one has to urge, in contrast to our practices before 1914, is the enlargement of range. The plea made in Chapters VI and VII for a general survey of world history holds with double force at a period when Britain is brought into immediate contact with East and West. I am writing these lines on the day when news has come

that Italy has occupied Corfu : a prelude it may be to another outbreak of European war. How can our democracy form a judgment as to right and wrong in such a conflict if the first steps to knowledge in geography and history are denied them ?

This seems to me the one positive reform that the teacher of history must accept in view of the perils to which civilisation is now exposed. We must not ask him to be partisan, either Fascist or Socialist, or any other "ist" which these desperate times may evolve ; we do not ask him to cease to be nationalist, for, unless a man continue to be a good Englishman he is scarcely likely to be a good European. But *internationalist he must be* ; to leave our children as ignorant as their fathers were of the state of Europe and Asia, lulled in pride of the past and a conceited security of our exalted power, is to invite disaster. The revision of our Humanities, and especially of our History syllabus, so as to include a comprehensive and just survey of the whole course of world history, this seems to me to be the first and most obvious lesson that the events of the last ten years should bring home to those who organise our schools and

colleges. Such knowledge cannot of itself save a society if from other motives the will to peace and righteousness is lacking ; but, at any rate, the diffusion of such knowledge in wide circles of society is a needful step ; and it is the one contribution which the teacher through his syllabus can make towards the healing of the nations.



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